LANCELOT ANDREWES

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LANCELOT ANDREWES

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See heer a Shadow *from that setting* SUNNE.
Whose glorious course through this Horizon runn
Left the dimm face of our dull Hemisphære,
All one great Eye, *all drownd in one great* Teare.
Whose rare industrious Soule led his free thought
Through Learning's *Universe, and vainly sought*
Room for her spacious Self; untill at length
She found ỹ way home: with an holy strength

Snatch't herself hence to Heav'n; filld a bright place
Mads't those immortal Fires, and on the face
Of her Great MAKER *fixt a flaming eye.*
Where still She reads true, pure Divinitie.
And now ỹ grave Aspect hath deignd to shrink
Into this lesse appearance. If you think
Tis but a dead face, *Art doth heer bequeath*
Lock on the following leaues &see him breath.

Are to be sold by R. Badger dwelling in Stationers Hall. 1635

John Payne Fecit

LANCELOT ANDREWES

BY

ROBERT L. OTTLEY, M.A.

PRINCIPAL OF THE PUSEY HOUSE
AND FELLOW OF S. MARY MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH PORTRAIT

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"*In the time of trouble He shall hide me in His tabernacle; yea, in the secret place of His dwelling shall He hide me, and set me up upon a rock of stone.*"—Ps. xxvii. 5

✠

To the Memory of a Sister

E. P.

whose life of hidden self-consecration

and unwearied charity

was inspired by devotion to the

Holy English Church,

Catholic and Apostolic,

Mother of Saints,

this Book is Dedicated.

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CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND FIRST YEARS IN LONDON	1
II.	THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND UNDER ELIZABETH	24
III.	ANDREWES AT THE COURT OF JAMES I.	40
IV.	THE ROMAN CONTROVERSY	55
V.	PUBLIC LIFE—LAST YEARS AND DEATH	72
VI.	FRIENDSHIPS AND LITERARY CONNECTIONS	92
VII.	ANDREWES THE PRELATE	108
VIII.	BISHOP ANDREWES AS A PREACHER	123
IX.	THE THEOLOGICAL POSITION OF BISHOP ANDREWES— PART I.	150
	PART II.	166
X.	THE *DEVOTIONS*	177
XI.	A CONCLUDING SURVEY	194
	APPENDIX A.—SPECIMENS OF THE POSITIVE TEACHING OF BISHOP ANDREWES ON POINTS IN DISPUTE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND ROME	203
	APPENDIX B.—BISHOP WREN'S INSCRIPTION FOR BISHOP ANDREWES' TOMB	207
	APPENDIX C.—LIST OF BISHOP ANDREWES' WORKS	209
	APPENDIX D.—LITERARY HISTORY OF THE *DEVOTIONS*	212

PREFACE

THE name of bishop Andrewes is so reverently cherished by English Churchmen, that many will probably feel a sense of disappointment in reading the story of his career. The fact is, that he owes his great reputation more to his gift of preaching and to the depth and beauty of his devotional life, than to the part he played in the history of the Church or in public affairs. The sphere in which he moved was but little suited to his temperament. His great literary capacity was spent in controversial encounters which were scarcely worthy of his genius. Indeed, the published work of Andrewes, like other products of English theology, is occasional in character, and the controversy with Bellarmine and Du Perron is important chiefly as throwing light on the bishop's conception of the office and mission of the English Church. It may be said that his life has an enduring interest, as showing the course followed, and the aims pursued, by a loyal son of the Church in a perplexed and troubled age. The controversial works of Andrewes display to us a man of high intellectual gifts, profound learning, lively humour, and broad sympathies. But the *Sermons* and *Devotions* reveal a higher order of qualities,—a pure and tender heart, a deep spiritual

insight, and an austere sanctity, which is concealed for the most part under a veil of masculine reserve. Such a character will repay study at a time when very different ideals are popular. In regard to one subject particularly, the controversy with Rome, there is much to be learned from the breadth of view, and true sense of moral proportion, which distinguishes bishop Andrewes' treatment.

The memoir by Isaacson, and other notices that bear upon the bishop's life, have been carefully collected by Mr. Bliss in the concluding volume of Andrewes' works published in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*.[1]

Mr. Russell's *Memoirs of the Life and Works of Lancelot Andrewes* (1860) supply a large and somewhat diffuse collection of materials. There are one or two papers of interest in the Bodleian Library, notably the letter to Heinsius describing Casaubon's death.

To the Rev. R. B. Rackham I am indebted for kind trouble in revising proofs, and also for a valuable note on the *Devotions* (Appendix D).

R. L. O.

Ascension Day, 1894.

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[1] The references are in all cases to this edition. The *Minor Works, Life*, etc., is generally referred to shortly as "Bliss."

BISHOP ANDREWES

CHAPTER I

BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND FIRST YEARS IN LONDON

Lancelot Andrewes was born in 1555, and died in 1626. He survived by rather more than a year the accession of Charles I., but his career may be said, roughly speaking, to cover the critical period that intervenes between the opening of Elizabeth's reign and the death of James I.

It is difficult to describe concisely any epoch of history which marks a transition from era to era, nor need the task be attempted here. It is enough to remember that Andrewes lived in days of vast and significant change—social, intellectual, and religious. At the time of his birth, England had reached her lowest point of internal disorder and humiliation. The reign of Mary had closed in failure and disaster.

> "Never woman meant so well
> And fared so ill in this disastrous world."[1]

She left her people sullen and dispirited. The

[1] Tennyson, *Queen Mary*, act v. sc. 2.

political and religious independence of the nation was threatened by the implacable hostility of Spain; the resources of the country seemed to be exhausted, and its government discredited.

At the death of James (1625) the situation presented a complete contrast. Thanks to the strong and temperate energy of Elizabeth's administration, the nation was now inspired by something like unity of purpose and sentiment; the Reformation movement had triumphed; the passion for public liberty was rising to its height, and the Commons stood on the verge of their resolute struggle with the absolutism of the Crown. The active intrigues of the counter-Reformation had at last ceased to be formidable. The day of England's weakness and fear seemed to be over; she had entered for good and for evil on the chequered career of a great modern state—a career that was to entail such high and varied duties, such heavy sacrifices, and such splendid achievements. But the social revolution that passed over England during these seventy eventful years is scarcely less remarkable than the change in the political situation. It might be fitly described in the eloquent language of a living historian:[1]—"The paths trodden by the footsteps of ages were broken up: old things were passing away, and the faith and life of ten centuries were dissolving like a dream. Chivalry was dying: the abbey and the castle were soon together to crumble into ruins; and all the forms, desires, beliefs, convictions of the old world were passing away never to return. . . . In the fabric of habit which they had so laboriously built up for themselves, mankind were to remain no

[1] Professor Froude.

longer." This passage, indeed, reminds us that long before the accession of Elizabeth the causes had been silently at work that were destined to produce this momentous change in the ideas and prospects of nations and individual men. But at the close of James' reign the old world had finally vanished and the new era had begun. In England the very aspect of the country seemed to have undergone a kind of transformation. The age of feudalism, with its baronial castles and soldierly nobility, had disappeared; in its stead had risen a new England—an England adorned with stately manor houses and thriving homesteads. The spirit of mercantile and manufacturing enterprise was awake, and was already producing widely-felt economic results. The general standard of comfort was higher; there was greater diffusion of wealth, more leisure, and consequently more cultivation. Most striking fact of all—the closing years of Elizabeth's reign had witnessed the birth of a new literary impulse. Shakespeare, Bacon, Spenser, and Hooker had risen to celebrity, one of them at least being included in the circle of Andrewes' intimate friends.

But throughout the period the most powerful force making for change in men's habits of thought and life—though not perhaps the most obvious at the time—was the reformation in religion. In an age of transition, "Religion naturally became the battlefield of the old and new state of things."[1] The Reformation opened fundamental questions which lay at the very root of individual beliefs, social development, and national policy; it introduced endless

[1] Creighton, *Age of Elizabeth*, p. 2.

possibilities of internal conflict, of collision between different states and different orders of men in the same state. In England, especially, we see the results of the change in religion exhibited on a large scale. The impressive but dimly understood forms of medieval worship had given place to the dignified simplicity of the Anglican rite. The Bible had become the people's book, and was slowly moulding the religious thought and even the language of common men. The free and boisterous merriment of the Tudor period was gradually giving way before the restrained serious temper and moral enthusiasm of Puritan England.

Such were the more obvious symptoms of the new order of things which since the close of the fifteenth century had gradually become established in England. The generation to which Andrewes belonged was one which had enjoyed the benefits of strong and settled government; which had grown up in habits of industry, and had come to realise the true worth of knowledge, the importance and interest of the pursuits of peace—art, commerce, and manufacture. With a rising spirit of independence, however, and a new sense of the value of liberty, was combined a temper of loyalty to the great queen, which lived on in the form of an almost superstitious reverence for monarchy. Majesty was sacred, and was held to be invested with a divine right. But what had hitherto been a prejudice, or an informal inference drawn from the current conceptions of sovereignty, became under James I. a distinct theory of absolutism. It would be unreasonable to expect that the churchmen of the Stuart period should be altogether exempt from the

prevalent ideas of their age on this subject; and, as we shall see, there were deeper reasons for the exaggerated deference which they paid to the principle of monarchical government. At any rate, Andrewes grew to manhood in an atmosphere of submissive loyalty, and this became a factor in his career, and determined his special field of work.

Politically speaking, England under Elizabeth enjoyed immunity from actual invasion, and the benefits of stable government. But in the sphere of opinion her reign was a period of great confusion, unsettlement, and conflict between new and old habits of thought. It was a condition of things in which leaders were needed in every sphere, in none more urgently than that of religion. It is as a religious leader that Andrewes engages our interest and attention. After Richard Hooker,[1] he is the most conspicuous ecclesiastical writer of his day; and it may be claimed for him that of his contemporaries he alone was qualified to meet the peculiar difficulties with which the English Church found herself confronted at the close of Elizabeth's reign. If the work of the Reformation was to endure and to be developed; if the Church was to hold her own against the steady pressure of Calvinism and the pertinacious vehemence of the Roman attack, she must find defenders competent to render an adequate account of her anomalous position, and to base her claims on a coherent theory. First in Jewel and Hooker, and later in Lancelot Andrewes, the English Church happily found what she needed. In the ensuing sketch no attempt will be made to give a complete

[1] Hooker was born in 1553, and died in 1600.

biography of Andrewes—a task for which materials, especially letters, are very deficient. We shall study his career simply with a view to estimating in some degree his importance as a religious leader.

Lancelot Andrewes, the eldest of a family of thirteen, was born in Thames Street, in the parish of All-Hallows, Barking, in 1555.[1] His father, Thomas Andrewes, was a member of the commercial or middle class which the policy of Elizabeth did so much to encourage. He had led a seafaring life, and in his later years became one of the masters of the Trinity House. English seamen were already famous for their restless hardihood and love of adventure; we know what an important part was played by men of the stamp of Drake and Howard in the fierce struggle with Spain which culminated in the destruction of the Armada in 1588. The mariners of that age were distinguished by a strange mixture of unscrupulous daring and religious fervour. As a class they seem to have been passionately devoted to the cause of national liberty, and to the new order of religious beliefs. Moreover, the persecutions of Mary's reign had taught men to value their hardly-won privileges, while the sense of national dangers had developed a new seriousness and intensity in the average English character. The parents of Lancelot Andrewes are said to have been "honest and religious," and very careful of the education of their children. At an early age, probably at the suggestion and with the aid of Sir Francis Walsingham, who was on friendly terms with the

[1] The exact day of his birth is unknown. The Andrewes family was connected with Suffolk, but very little seems to be known of its history.

Andrewes family, and resided near them, Lancelot was sent to the Coopers' Free school of Ratcliffe, in Stepney parish, the master of which, Ward, soon discovered the boy's passion for study, and "obtained of his parents that he should not be a prentice." This discerning kindness was never forgotten by Andrewes. Before long he was transferred to the care of Richard Mulcaster, first master of the newly-founded Merchant Taylors' school. Here he made rapid progress; his diligence was extraordinary; early and late he was at his studies; he used to rise at four; he would work while others were at play, and indeed had to be compelled to take his part in the school games. Mulcaster seems to have been an educationalist of original ideas. He taught the boys Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; and was careful also to train them in music and dramatic art. "Yeerly he presented sum playes to the court in which his scholers were (the) only actors, . . . and by that meane taught them good behaviour and audacitye."[1] Possibly the foundation was thus laid of Andrewes' gift as a preacher. Throughout his life he was much attached to his old school, sometimes attending the annual dinner and election. For Mulcaster he ever retained an affectionate regard, treated him always with marked respect and generosity, and after his death "caused his picture to be set over his study door."[2] It was characteristic of him that he never forgot those to whom he felt that he owed a lasting obligation. When he became bishop of Winchester, he gave a

[1] Whitelock, *Liber famelicus* (Camden Society).

[2] "Whereas," says Buckeridge (*Funeral Sermon*), "in all the rest of the house you could scantly see a picture."

living to Ward's son; and to Mulcaster's son he left a legacy.

In 1571, at the age of sixteen, he was sent to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, as the holder of the first of some Greek scholarships recently founded by Dr. Thomas Watts, archdeacon of Middlesex.[1]

Andrewes entered the University of Cambridge at a time when the struggle between the Church and Puritanism was at its height. Whitgift (master of Trinity 1567–77) had lately become vice-chancellor (1570), and was an inflexible supporter of the queen's policy—enforcement at all hazards of the prescribed discipline of the Church. Cambridge had already become the centre of a determined movement of resistance. The Puritan party had entrenched itself firmly in the university, and could enlist the services of zealous, able, and determined men. Of this party, Thomas Cartwright, fellow of Trinity, was the acknowledged leader. He had been placed in a position of dignity and wide influence by his election to the Lady Margaret professorship in 1569, and he used the professorial chair as a vantage ground from which to assail with fierce determination the whole system of the English Church. His influence was now nearly at its height, and the effect of his vigorous preaching and lecturing had already become visible in a general unsettlement of the university. Young fellows of colleges and undergraduates crowded to hear him, and eagerly caught at suggestions of in-

[1] About the same time he seems to have been nominated a scholar of Jesus College, Oxford, by the founder, Hugh Price, but apparently he did not visit the university before he became an (incorporated) M.A. of Oxford in 1581.

subordination to authority. To some, and to Whitgift especially, Cartwright's conduct appeared a public danger, at a time when the power of Spain was so formidable. The one hope of Church and country lay in general agreement to sink differences on unessential points; ecclesiastical uniformity seemed to be a safeguard of national unity; the intolerance which denounced episcopacy and the use of the surplice as abominations equally heinous was a scandal and a positive source of peril. Accordingly, complaints began to reach the chancellor (Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley) of the disturbance raised by Cartwright in the university. The danger was depicted in exaggerated terms. One head of a house assured the chancellor that the aim of the Puritans was "to overthrow all ecclesiastical and civill governance that now is, and to ordeyne and institute a newly founded pollicie." Grindal, archbishop of York, wrote to Cecil in a similar strain. The chancellor was roused; he wrote to Whitgift, as the head of Cartwright's house, directing him to take prompt measures against the offenders. It would seem that Whitgift himself, after long alliance with the rising party, had now begun to realise the disastrous effects of their agitation, and as a man of wider sympathies he was disgusted by their rigidity, their narrow vehemence, and ill-proportioned zeal.

It is clear, indeed, from contemporary accounts, that Calvinism was at this time not only a force making for political disorder, but that it was also inflicting deep and serious injury on the welfare of Cambridge as a place of learning. The quiet and dignified repose of academic life disappeared; the time that

should have been devoted to study was wasted in exciting theological disputes. Dr. Caius, the accomplished master of the college that bears his name, complains in 1567: "Young men now-a-days be so negligent that they care for nothing." In consequence of the general relaxation of discipline, which was the more perilous in view of the extreme youthfulness of the undergraduates, there was a great deal of insubordination, often tacitly encouraged by Calvinistic seniors. The students became generally extravagant and dissipated in their habits; they despised academic dress; occasionally even the square cap and surplice in chapel were discarded. Perhaps the general demoralisation had not reached its lowest point at the time when Andrewes matriculated. But things were bad enough. We find complaints of the rudeness and pugnacity of the undergraduates, their open conflicts with the townsmen, their insolence to strangers, their contempt of authority. Cambridge was fast degenerating into a "storehouse for a staple of prodigall, wastfull, ryotous, unlerned, and insufficient persons."[1]

It is curious that the first effects of Puritanism should have differed so widely from the permanent impress which it was destined to leave on the national character. At this time it was clearly a disintegrating force which must be reckoned with, and under Whitgift's drastic *régime* we see a systematic effort made on the part of the university authorities to enforce order and conformity. Whitgift was, in fact, the chief promoter—first at Cambridge, afterwards at

[1] See Mullinger's *History of the University of Cambridge*, from which the above account is mainly derived.

Lambeth—of a policy which eventually led to a final rupture between Puritanism and the State. His exertions secured in the Elizabethan statutes of the university a new and formidable preponderance of influence for the heads of colleges. But this legislation only aggravated the division between parties; it produced a split between the younger regents—imbued with the new teaching, and jealous for their rights—and the older men, who were convinced of the necessity of strengthening authority by an accumulation of the powers of the university in the hands of the Heads. The struggle was at its height in 1570, and on the eve of Andrewes' admission (September 1571), Whitgift had triumphed: Cartwright was deprived of his professorship and fellowship, quitted Cambridge, and retired to Geneva. It was not until twenty years later that he reappeared and preached in Cambridge, by which time Andrewes himself was master of Pembroke. Meanwhile, Cartwright's departure was hailed with a sense of relief, as likely to promote the interests both of learning and discipline.

Lancelot Andrewes entered Pembroke Hall as a scholar, and rose to be its Head. A large proportion of his fellow-students were of the same social rank as himself. According to the arrangements of the time, he would find himself lodged in a simple room shared by two, or possibly three, other students. At this time colleges were overcrowded; residence in lodgings was rare; and the number of students was constantly increasing. The conditions of life were thus extremely uncomfortable and unfavourable, as we might think, to systematic study or quiet thought. Andrewes, not being

one of the poorer scholars,[1] would be exempt from menial duties; but he probably underwent, during his first term, the rude and sometimes cruel process of "salting," and in any case he would have to wait till he was fellow before he could secure a room entirely to himself.

He appears, however, to have set himself courageously to make the best of these unpromising conditions. His passion was for study, and he had, perhaps, undue distaste for the pastimes[2] which were usual at that time. "He never," says his biographer Isaacson, "loved or used any games or ordinary recreation, either within doors, as cards, dice, tables, chess, or the like; or abroad, as butts, quoits, bowls, or any such." His chief college friend seems to have been Thomas Dove, his contemporary at school and college, who became bishop of Peterborough in 1600. What seems to have distinguished Andrewes was a quiet, contemplative delight in nature; his favourite recreation was walking either alone or with a friend. "He would often profess that to observe the grass, herbs, corn, trees, cattle, earth, waters, heavens, any of the creatures, and to contemplate their natures, orders, virtues, uses, etc., was ever to him the greatest mirth, content, and recreation that could be; and this he held to his dying day."[3] Once a year, before

[1] His parents "left him a sufficient patrimony and inheritance, which is descended to his heir" (Buckeridge, *Funeral Sermon*).

[2] "The usual pastimes (including those prohibited) were archery, quoits, football (*reciprocatio pilae*), bull and bear baitings, and especially dramatic performances. Latin plays were a recognised diversion; those in English, except by special allowance, were not" (Mullinger, p. 486).

[3] Isaacson, *Life*, p. vi.

Easter, he visited his home, making the journey on foot; but his stay was limited to a month, and was devoted to hard study. "Against the time he should come up, his father, directed by letters from his son, before he came, prepared one that should read to him, and be his guide in the attaining of some language or art which he had not attained before. So that within a few years he had laid the foundations of all arts and sciences, and had gotten skill in most of the modern languages." [1]

Andrewes was by temperament early drawn to the study which absorbed, sometimes with disastrous results, the most promising intellects of his day—the science of theology. But until he took his degree he would conform to the regular curriculum, elementary mathematics and astronomy, which were studied in antiquated text-books; cosmography, on which the recognised authorities were Plato's *Timaeus*, Strabo, and Pliny; rhetoric and logic, the latter subject being regarded as of primary importance. The traditional treatment of logic was at this time being largely modified by the influence of Peter Ramus, whose tragic death in the massacre of S. Bartholomew (August 1572) was one of the exciting and thrilling events of Andrewes' undergraduate life. This regular course would, in the case of an inquiring student, be supplemented by some study of ethics, physics, and metaphysics; but theology was the science of most engrossing interest to the abler men. In this subject also there were standard text-books, but already the *Summa* and the *Sentences* had been superseded by Calvin's *Institutes*, the *Commonplaces* of

[1] Isaacson, p. v.

Musculus, the writings of Beza and other lights of protestantism.

After taking his B.A. degree, Andrewes was in 1576 elected fellow of his college as the result of an examination, in those days a rare event. His unsuccessful competitor was his friend and schoolfellow, Thomas Dove. His election enabled Andrewes to follow his real bent, and to devote himself systematically to theology.

At a time when Hebrew and even Greek were deplorably neglected, Andrewes had, by his unremitting diligence, become a student proficient, for those days, in both languages. He applied himself with ardour to the study of Scripture. We hear of his joining a small group of senior men who held weekly meetings for prayer and Bible-reading. To each member of the company was assigned a definite department of study bearing on the subject selected: one busied himself with the text, another with exegesis, another with the doctrinal import of the passage. These exercises seem to have borne good fruit, and helped to foster a common tone of thought and habit of mind among the younger seniors. It is noticeable that one member of the group, Chaderton, afterwards became the first master of Emmanuel college. At this time also Andrewes found scope for his love of teaching, being appointed in 1578 "catechist" of his college. Catechising was at this time a recognised, and much honoured method of religious instruction. It was the ordinary duty of young clergymen in their first pastoral cure. With a view probably to training men for this important branch of their work, Andrewes instituted catechetical lectures in his college-chapel,

delivered on Saturdays and Sundays in the afternoon. Something in his matter or manner seems to have made these lectures very attractive. They were soon crowded, not only by residents, but by young curates from the country. The substance of the lectures was published after Andrewes' death (in 1630), under the title, *A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine*, which, supplemented by another series, *The Moral Law Expounded* (first published in 1642),[1] forms a systematic exposition of the Decalogue.

After his ordination (1580), Andrewes was led by circumstances into a line of reading which he made peculiarly his own. Moral theology seems to have had special attractions for him, and his diligence in this department was stimulated by the fact that he was now engaged in the cure of souls. "He was," says Harrington, "a man deeply seen in all cases of conscience, and he was much sought to in that respect." In an age of noisy controversy, his quiet, unobtrusive goodness and devout temper won him the confidence and reverence of earnest inquirers, and of those troubled in mind or conscience. The result was that Andrewes became closely engaged in the work of spiritual direction, and soon gained the reputation of being a profound casuist.[2]

A curious anecdote is preserved, which throws light

[1] "It seems probable that his sermons on the Temptation of Christ in the Wilderness and on the Lord's Prayer, originally published respectively in 1592 and 1611, were taken from the notes of his hearers on these occasions" (Bliss, *Andrewes' Minor Works, Life*, etc., p. vi.).

[2] We may notice that his exercise for the degree of B.D. (1585) was a "Thesis de Usuris"; and in 1591 he wrote a theological treatise ("Determinatio"), "On the Lawfulness of an Oath" (*Opuscula*, pp. 95, 117).

on Andrewes' method, and the variety of demands made on his time. A stout alderman, we are told, who was wont to fall asleep in church at the afternoon service, and was consequently "preached at" as a reprobate, was so troubled in his mind that he consulted Andrewes. Andrewes said "it was an ill habit of body, not of mind," and advised the alderman to dine lightly on Sundays. In spite of this advice, he again slept in sermon time, and was vigorously denounced by the preacher. "He comes again to Mr. Andrewes with tears in his eyes, to be resolved, who then told him to make his usual hearty meal and take out his full sleep before going to S. Mary's." This plan succeeded, but "Mr. Andrewes was extremely spoken against for offering to assoyle or excuse a sleeper in sermon time. But he had learning and wit enough to defend himself."[1]

Such was the career to which the diligent and earnest young student devoted himself, but meanwhile we cannot doubt that he was a keenly interested observer of the theological struggle that had so greatly disturbed and hindered the higher studies of the university. In the actual struggle, however, he took no part. By this time the repressive action of the authorities was beginning to tell, and was producing consequences not less disastrous than those provoked by the fanaticism of the Puritans. Insistance on conformity, which was the weapon of the Church party, was driving extremists on both sides to retaliatory measures. The founding of Emmanuel college in 1584 marks a defiant recrudescence of Puritan zeal.[2]

[1] *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, vol. i. pp. 262, 263.

[2] See a description of the college in Lewis' *Life of Bishop Hall.*

Emmanuel was intended to be a training school for the ministry, but a ministry of the Genevan pattern. From the date of its first foundation, the society was distinguished by an entire disregard of the ordinary usage and discipline of the Church. The college "used its own form of religious service, discarded surplices and hoods, was careless even of the cap and gown, and had suppers on Fridays." The sacrament was administered with gross neglect and irreverence, the recipients being seated during the communion, and behaving as if present at an ordinary meal. Andrewes must have been disgusted and repelled by such a display of Puritan temper and methods, especially when, as sometimes was the case, dogmatic rigidity was combined with an inconsistent laxity in practice. There was little chance that the attempts which were occasionally made to win him over would be successful. "They (the Emmanuel Puritans) had a great mind to draw in to them this learned young man, who (if they could make [him] strong) they knew would be a great honour to them. They carried themselves antiently with great severity and strictness. They preached up the strict keeping and observing of the Lord's Day, made it damnation to break it, and that 'twas less sin to kill a man. Yet these hypocrites did bowl in a private green at other colleges every Sunday after sermon. And one at the college (a loving friend to Mr. Andrewes), to satisfy him, lent him one day the key of the private back door to the bowling-green, where he discovered these zealous preachers with their gowns off earnest at play; but they were strangely surprised to see the entry of one who was not of the brotherhood." [1] Meanwhile, though

[1] *Anecdotes*, vol. i. p. 262.

Puritanism of this type was dominant, another reactionary party was rising into notice. In numbers it was as yet insignificant, but it was animated by a spirit of implacable hostility to the English Church. The revived Romanism had been driven by the harsh penal measures of the government into open disaffection, and was now become a standing danger to the Throne, if not to the Church. Shortly before Andrewes entered the university, the English college had been founded by William Allen at Douay (1568). In less than nine years the community numbered nearly two hundred students; it was removed to Rheims in 1578; and in 1580, fathers Parsons and Campion led the first Jesuit mission into England. It is needless to trace in detail the course of the counter-Reformation. It is enough to say that at Cambridge the movement found its sympathisers, if not its open partisans. The dominant Calvinism was not left unchallenged; and the rising display of Catholic feeling was enough to keep the Puritan party on the alert.

Naturally, Andrewes, as a patristic student and casuist, was suspected of leanings towards Catholicism, and his career was doubtless watched from different sides with conflicting emotions. It does not, however, appear that his somewhat unpopular views hindered his advance. It is true that he had some difficulty in obtaining the D.D. degree, which was refused him on his first application. The date of his actually taking the degree is uncertain; he probably applied for it in connection with his appointment as master of his college (1589).[1] But his own amiable and devout

[1] His exercises were — (1) "Concio ad clerum" in Prov. xx. 25, translated and published in 1646 under the title, *Sacrilege a Snare*.

character won him many friends and allies, while his solid learning made him a formidable antagonist. Whitgift, at least, was able to measure his worth, and some time after his succession to the primacy appointed Andrewes to be one of his chaplains (about 1586).

This event, and the preferment which followed, loosened to some extent the ties which bound Andrewes to Cambridge, and brought him on to a more public stage. He broke his residence in 1586 by a tour in the north in the company of the earl of Huntingdon, president of the North, during which he found scope for his preaching powers, and used the opportunity—not without success—for privately reconciling recusant priests and others to the English Church. This was the beginning of a wider and more varied activity. Through the influence of Sir Francis Walsingham, who had interested himself in Andrewes from his boyhood, and was anxious, in spite of some disagreement with his views, to find a conspicuous sphere for his abilities, he was appointed in 1588 to the vicarage of S. Giles', Cripplegate. In the following year he was assigned a prebendal stall at Southwell; and shortly afterwards (May 1589) the stall of S. Pancras in S. Paul's Cathedral. It happened that this stall was that of confessioner or penitentiary;[1] and, while Andrewes held the office, he not only lectured regularly on some portion

(2) "Theologica Determinatio de Decimis," translated and published in 1647; see Bliss, p. viii.

[1] "Thomas Kempe, bishop of London, founded a chantry in 5 Edward IV. for one priest who should be confessor to the bishop of London; from the time of the endowment of this chantry, and its annexation to the stall of S. Pancras, the prebendary, on admission to this stall, was admitted also to the office of penitentiary" (Bliss, p. vii.).

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of Scripture,[1] but he endeavoured to turn to good account the traditions of the stall. It was his custom at stated times in Lent to walk in one of the aisles of the cathedral for the purpose of giving spiritual counsel and comfort to any who might seek it. This perhaps unpopular[2] determination to revive the neglected but important functions of his office is highly honourable to Andrewes. The work was, however, in itself congenial to him, and there was something about him that could not fail to command confidence and esteem. At a time when self-seeking, luxury, and ambition were common among the more dignified clergy, men were touched and attracted by the simplicity of the laborious and ascetic life which had now become habitual to Andrewes.[3] During his tenure of the canonry in S. Paul's (1591), he, together with the dean, Nowell, was appointed by the archbishop to visit and confer with John Udall, who was lying under sentence of death for a seditious libel on the queen and the bishops. After "many discourses" with Andrewes, Udall still persisted in his opinions, but was touched by the forbearance and gentleness of his visitor. He told him "the oftener he came the welcomer he should be," but he refused to make the required submission; and eventually, though

[1] "He lectured on Gen. i.–iv. three times every week during term time, some of the later ones being delivered at S. Giles', Cripplegate. These lectures were published in 1657, with the title *Apospasmatia Sacra*" (Bliss, p. lxxvii.).

[2] The office of penitentiary was "a place notoriously abused in time of popery by their tyranny and superstition, but now of late by a contrary extreme too much forgotten and neglected." (Harrington, who implies that the cry of "Popery" was sometimes raised against Andrewes' conduct.)

[3] He suffered from overwork, and at one time "became so infirm that his friends despaired of his life" (Isaacson).

reprieved at Whitgift's request, died in prison. During the same year, Andrewes took part in a similar mission to the fanatical Henry Barrow,[1] but with equal want of success.

In August 1589, on the death of William Fulke, Andrewes was recalled to Cambridge as master of his college. He cannot have resided continuously during his tenure of this office (1589–1605), but he found time for the work of practical administration, and his career at Pembroke was marked by a public-spirited disregard of his own personal interests. "He ever spent more upon it than he received by it." In fact, he found his society in debt, and left it with a reserve fund of £1000.

Little more needs to be said of Andrewes' Cambridge life. It was not till 1596 that the school of thought to which he belonged made its power felt. In the year 1595, distinct signs appeared in Cambridge of a revolt against the Calvinist theology. William Barrett, a fellow of Caius College, in a Latin sermon preached for the degree of B.D., had handled severely the prevailing doctrines as to assurance and the indefectibility of faith. The dominant party was alarmed and indignant, and the regius professor of divinity, Dr. Whitaker, a man of great learning and zeal, drew up nine theses which he presented to the primate, and which became famous as the Lambeth articles. A reluctant retractation of his opinions was forced from Barrett, who, within a short time, quitted the university and became a Romanist. Meanwhile, a higher authority, Peter Baro, who for twenty years had been Lady Margaret professor, gave his sanction

[1] For Andrewes' view of the Independents, see *Sermons*, vol. iv. p. 12.

to the reactionary movement, and even ventured, in a sermon at S. Mary's, to pass some criticisms on the nine articles. He was cited before the Heads of colleges to answer for his temerity, but the proceedings failed, chiefly, it is thought, owing to the fact that Andrewes and other influential men, such as Overall, who succeeded Whitaker in the professorship, were known to be in sympathy with Baro's views. The incident is important, as being one of several symptoms of a reaction against a system which was fast becoming a tyranny. Andrewes' own opinion of the Lambeth articles was set down in a paper afterwards published. It must have required some courage in one of the archbishop's chaplains to dispute his theology. In this paper, as might have been anticipated in the case of so reverent and devout a mind, there is little positive contribution to the subject. Andrewes begins by expressing a sense of the greatness of the mystery under discussion: he declares that since his ordination he had carefully refrained from disputing upon these speculative points.[1] He would advise that silence should be enjoined on both sides. What follows is a temperate and free criticism of the articles, sufficiently strong, as we might think, coming from such a man, to deter the archbishop from further proceedings. But Whitgift had already discovered that he was acting in opposi-

[1] "Ego certe, ingenue fateor, secutus sum Augustini consilium; mysteria haec quae aperire non possum, clausa miratus sum, et proinde, per hos sedecim annos, ex quo presbyter sum factus, me neque publice neque privatim vel disputasse de eis vel pro concione tractasse; etiam nunc quoque malle de eis audire quam dicere . . . Suaderem, si fieri possit, ut indiceretur utrinque silentium" (*Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine*, etc., p. 294, Oxford).

tion to the queen's wish, and indeed it was sufficiently evident that the religious mind of the country was disinclined to go further in a Calvinistic direction. The dislike of excessive definition, which Andrewes expresses so forcibly in his anti-Roman treatises, was a rooted characteristic of his mind. In connection with such a subject as the divine decrees and man's relation to them, exact formulation of doctrine would seem to him specially disastrous in tendency. Whitgift appears to have resisted strong pressure when he contented himself with giving Baro a caution to keep silence on the disputed points;[1] and in taking no further step, he may be thought to have deferred to Andrewes' advice.

[1] To the same period, apparently, belongs the *Censure of the Censure upon Barrett*, which is concerned with the doctrine of Assurance. It is on the whole warmly in favour of Barrett, and supports his contention that "no man ought to be absolutely secure as to his salvation" by quotations from the fathers—some of which almost in terms anticipate what Barrett had actually said. The authenticity of this paper is questioned by Mr. Russell, *Memoirs of the Life and Works of Bishop Andrewes*, ch. iv., but not on sufficient grounds.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND UNDER ELIZABETH

LANCELOT ANDREWES had now advanced on to a wider stage. His appointment to be one of Queen Elizabeth's chaplains (about 1586)[1] introduced him into the life of the court, and brought him into close relations with those who were responsible for the guidance of the English Church during that critical time.

The task to which Elizabeth had devoted herself, the consolidation of the English Church, was one forced upon her not by any strong convictions of her own, but mainly by the pressure of political difficulties. This is obviously true of her struggle with the papists. The twenty years intervening between the foundation of the Douay Seminary and the destruction of the Armada had completed the rupture between England and Rome. The Bull of Pius V., deposing Elizabeth and absolving her subjects from allegiance (February 1570), left the English government no alternative but to wage uncompromising war with the secret and declared foes of religious and civil liberty. The events of those twenty years—the Bull of 1570, the massacre of August 1572, the Jesuit mission in 1580, which was part of an organised revivalist movement insti-

[1] His first sermon before the queen was preached probably on Ash Wednesday, 1590.

gated by Gregory XIII., the schemes of the Guises to bring about a rising in Scotland, the assassination of the Prince of Orange in 1584, the repeated conspiracies against Elizabeth's life—combined to produce in England not only a passionate feeling of loyalty to the queen, but a firm conviction in thoughtful minds that Rome was a perfectly unscrupulous enemy of national independence, and was ready to attempt anything in the prosecution of her aims.[1] Indeed, the political history of Elizabeth's reign justifies in a measure the intense moral aversion to the Romish system that meets us in the Church writers of the period, and explains, partially at least, the violence of the Puritan reaction. The English Church, with its retention of episcopacy and ancient liturgical forms, was hateful to the Puritan party, as holding to a system tainted by popish leaven. At the same time, the bishops appeared to be little more than government officers, enforcing by legal powers a conformity which was odious to multitudes of earnest men, and which seemed opposed by its very nature to the essential spirit of religion.

The appointment of Whitgift to the primacy (1583) marks the point at which the principles of resolute government, with its natural consequences, were put in force. There was, as we have seen, a political danger in the distracted state of religious parties, at a time when Spain, backed by the power of Rome, was threatening the country.[2] But there was also a reli-

[1] "Attendite ad transfugas illos, Romani Lupi emissarios, professos et regni et religionis hostes, tubas et faces et flabella seditionum, per triginta jam annos" (Conv. Serm. *Opusc. Posthuma*, p. 47).

[2] Cp. Wakeman, *The Church and the Puritans*, p. 50.

gious question involved of immense importance. Was the English Church to sink under pressure to the level of a presbyterian sect, or was she to retain episcopacy as a pledge of her continuity with the pre-Reformation Church? From 1580 onwards, the Puritan party, which now included the most able and intellectual among the younger clergy, made a systematic effort to secure the enforcement of the Calvinistic discipline. Their weapons were mainly two: internal organisation of the disaffected clergy, and representations to Parliament, with which throughout the struggle they maintained close connections. In the first of these objects they were thwarted by the energy and vigilance of the primate; in the second, by the personal influence of the queen, which kept in check the puritanical leanings of the House of Commons. There was a third weapon—that employed by Nonconformists, who regarded the Church system as incompatible with the sacred rights of conscience—namely, a series of libellous attacks upon the bishops. This weapon was used with such unscrupulous violence that it produced a reaction. The libels themselves were not only furious in their foul and unmeasured invective, but were felt to be symptoms of political disaffection. Bishop Cooper of Winchester, himself unsparingly attacked by the libellers, in his *Admonition to the People of England*, betrays the fears of grave and sober men. "If this outragious spirit of boldenesse be not stopped speedily, I feare he will prove himselfe to bee not only mar-prelate, but mar-prince, mar-state, mar-lawe, mar-magistrate, and all together, until he bring it to an anabaptisticall equalitie and communitie."[1]

[1] Moore, *History of the Reformation*, p. 293.

To the period when these disorders had reached their height belongs Bacon's *Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England.*[1] It is valuable as the judgment of one who stood apart from the contest, and could estimate better than the bishops, who were absorbed in the invidious work of repression, the real lesson of the Mar-prelate libels. It was intended to be a word "spoken in season," to warn the Church of her dangers, and guide her into a wiser course. Bacon appears "in the character, so often wanted, but so seldom welcome, of a peacemaker who has to remonstrate against the conduct of both sides."[2] What Bacon censures in the defensive pamphlets of churchmen is the tendency to underrate the religious needs and principles which might be discerned beneath the scurrility of the libels; and also the spirit of panic which had found expression even in Cooper's *Admonition.* We shall see that Andrewes' own view of the struggle was almost identical with Bacon's. To him it appeared that the main duty of the Church was an internal reformation. Meanwhile the immediate effect of the troubles was twofold. On the one hand, the Church was vindicated from the charge of intolerance. It was clear that the Puritan party aimed at nothing less than forcing presbyterianism on the country. Cartwright, indeed, confessed as much. "I deny that upon repentance there ought to follow any pardon of death. . . . Heretics ought to be put to death now. If this be bloody and extreme, I am contented to be so counted with the Holy Ghost." A sober historian goes

[1] Apparently it was intended for circulation in manuscript. It was written in 1589, and first printed in 1640.

[2] Bacon's *Works,* Ellis & Spedding, vol. viii. p. 73.

so far as to say, "With the despotism of a Hildebrand, Cartwright combined the cruelty of a Torquemada. Not only was presbyterianism to be established as the one legal form of church government, but all other forms, episcopalian and separatist, were to be ruthlessly put down."[1]

Another consequence of the attack on the hierarchy was that it led to a new and truer view of episcopacy. "The early Elizabethan churchmen regarded episcopacy mainly as a safeguard against disintegration," says Mr. Moore.[2] They defended the church system on Erastian grounds, as if the will of the sovereign were the real fountainhead of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Systematic vindication of episcopacy on scriptural and historical grounds is a feature of the later years of the sixteenth century. Bishop Bancroft, in 1589, boldly preached at Paul's Cross on the divine right of bishops, and lifted the controversy to a higher level. In 1591 appeared Saravia's *De diversis ministrorum gradibus;* in 1593, bishop Thomas Bilson's *Perpetual Government of Christ's Church.*

Andrewes, unlike Hooker, took little direct part in the controversy with the Puritans. There are but few allusions in his sermons to the main points in

[1] Green, *Short History*, p. 456; cp. Moore, p. 289. "They aimed at nothing less than what they afterwards carried: not a mere change in this or that point, but a substitution of an entirely new idea of the Church for that on which the Reformation in England had been based. Toleration was then on all sides not merely unacknowledged, but condemned. The demand of the Puritan was that nothing should be allowed but Puritanism" (Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 88). On the other hand, Beesly, *Queen Elizabeth*, p. 228, calls Whitgift "an Inquisitor as strenuous and merciless as Torquemada."

[2] *History of the Reformation*, p. 295; cp. Perry, *English Church History*, 2nd Period, p. 342.

dispute. "He looked," says dean Church, "for producing his effect on the tone and course of religious thought in England, not by arguing, but by presenting uncontroversially the reasonableness and the attractions of a larger, freer, nobler, more generous . . . system of teaching."[1] There is, however, a passage of a sermon preached at S. Giles', Cripplegate (January 9, 1592), "On the Worshipping of Imaginations," in which he dismisses the presbyterian theory with scant respect. "And this (episcopal government), till of late, was thought the form of fellowship, and never other imagined. But not long since some have fancied another, that should consist of lay elders, pastors, and doctors, and whether of deacons, too, is not fully agreed yet. Which device is pressed now upon our Church, not as a form of more convenience than that it hath, but as one absolutely necessary, and of our Saviour Christ's own only institution, which maketh it the less sufferable."[2] He points naturally to the early evidence of episcopal government, but for the most part contents himself with exposing the pretension of the Puritan view to a scriptural foundation.

This subject he treats in a more formal and argumentative manner in his letters to du Moulin. There was nothing to be gained by systematic discussion with the English Puritans on subjects connected with church government. The differences were too radical, the fundamental principles too much in dispute, to make controversy a hopeful task. Andrewes, indeed, only now and then, by a satirical touch, shows his sense of the prevalence and influence of Puritan ideas.

[1] *Masters in English Theology*, p. 94.
[2] *Sermons*, vol. v. p. 64.

Thus he alludes to the passion for sermons: "Hearing of the word is growing into such request, as it hath got the start of all the rest of the parts of God's service. . . . This way our age is affected, now is the world of sermons. For proof whereof, as if all godliness were in the hearing of sermons, take this very place, the house of God which now you see meetly well replenished; come at any other parts of the service of God (parts, I say, of the service of God no less than this), you shall find it in a manner desolate. And not here only, but go any whither else ye shall find even the like." [1]

Men of the stamp of Andrewes, however, men of really spiritual character, capable of appreciating the deepest moral needs and yearnings of their age, in spite of the fact that they were sometimes expressed in such questionable and revolutionary shapes, were keenly alive to the dangers of the Church. For the most part, energy of character, moral enthusiasm, pure zeal for religion, were to be found on the Puritan side. The Church was too much immersed in the disciplinary struggle to cultivate her own spiritual life or to reform her abuses.[2] The standard of spirituality was low; the clergy were many of them self-seeking, ignorant, sordid, idle, worldly, supinely enjoying the endowments and privileges of the established system. The Puritan attack was, after all, dictated by "a consciousness of moral superiority," [3] and the "hatred of a professional religion." Indeed, it may be said

[1] Sermon on S. James i. 22 [vol. v. pp. 186, 187]; cp. Hooker, Bk. v. cc. 21, 22.

[2] Cf. Church, *Masters in English Theology*, etc., pp. 98, 99.

[3] Wakeman, *The Church and the Puritans*, p. 56.

that the curse of the English Church at this time was indifferentism; the zealots were to be found in the ranks of her enemies. Logic, system, definite purpose, strong character, readiness of resource, earnestness and enthusiasm,—these were to be found in one or other of the hostile camps. The Church of England held as yet somewhat loosely and with hesitation to the *via media*. She seemed to be the natural refuge for the lukewarm, the indolent, and the temporising spirits among the clergy. The cautious and tentative attitude forced upon her by the circumstances of the time was one that repressed ardour while it invited attack. A minimum of ceremonial was all that could be insisted on from a clergy so largely disaffected. The leading principles, indeed, of the Reformation movement in the English Church were already clear: the appeal to antiquity, the retention of the ancient orders, the claim to hold what was admittedly catholic in doctrine. But the demoralising and depressing effect of the recent convulsions was already apparent, in the low standard and disorganised condition of the clergy; nor were there as yet among the bishops men who could be regarded as spiritual leaders. Many were in sympathy with the views and practices they were required to repress; some of them were half-hearted, willing to conform, but not at all anxious to insist on conformity. They did not at present sufficiently comprehend the merits of the system they were upholding. The main function of the Church as it must have appeared to a conscientious Nonconformist of that day, was the enforcement of law and the repression of zeal. It was clear that "in the England

of Elizabeth there was little room for the manifestation of any religious enthusiasm whatsoever."[1]

We have evidence that Andrewes was deeply impressed with a sense of the Church's shortcomings, in his Latin sermon preached in S. Paul's at the opening of Convocation, February 20 1593.[2] It is penetrated by a tone of indignant sorrow at the lax and corrupt state of clerical discipline, and the disorders which were turning "our Sion into Babel." He reproves the self-seeking temper which was passively indifferent to the perils and distresses of the Church. He describes the clergy as sitting still, half asleep, lukewarm, tongue-tied, while the tares of strange and portentous error are being sown broadcast, and have reached in some cases their full growth unheeded.

He dwells with outspoken sternness on the notorious deficiencies of the men admitted to Holy Orders, and the selfish impoverishment of benefices by their holders. Taking as his text Acts xx. 28, "Take heed to yourselves," etc., Andrewes tells the assembled clergy that they certainly obey the precept. "You do, indeed, take heed to yourselves; who denies it? It is the common report that you so do. You take heed verily to the enriching of your sons and daughters. You are so careful for your heirs that you forget your successors." The sermon is full of epigrams, which lose by translation: "*Hodie multi episcopi malunt esse morosi quam bene morati . . . Majorem fere rationem habemus nummorum quam morum.*" "At the present day," he declares, "it is re-

[1] Wakeman, *ut sup.* p. 49.

[2] *Opusc. Posthuma*, p. 29 foll.

ported of us that we are more concerned with shearing than shepherding the sheep." [1]

It is important to notice what Andrewes conceived to be the pressing needs of the Church at the time when this sermon was preached. They may be reckoned as three:—

First, definite doctrinal teaching. "Take heed to yourselves and to the doctrine," is his message. The teaching office, he insists, belongs specially to the bishops. "To you," he tells them, belongs primarily and chiefly, "the care of doctrine. It is your deposit; to you has been committed the duty of charging men that they teach no other doctrine; of restraining them if they do so." The office of preaching has been degraded by abuse; ignorance, folly, and fanaticism have usurped the pulpit, and turned the Church into a very barber's shop.[2] Andrewes accordingly insists on the need of wise selection, elaborate pains, and right division of subjects (ὀρθοτομεῖν) in teaching. His own example best illustrates the tone and method of preaching which he commends. Prompt attention, he urges, should be directed to doctrine; otherwise, there will soon be no authoritative doctrine left to be attended to.

Next, he pleads for a higher standard of personal life among the clergy. He plays on the word "episcopi"; the word may be taken actively or passively: actively, the clergy are "overseers"; in the passive sense they are "gazed upon," [3] they are

[1] "Ut fisco potius quam Christo consulatur, attonsioni gregis potius quam attentioni."

[2] "Ecclesia in tonstrinam versa est."

[3] "Episcopi estis active, id est, inspectores; passive, id est, spectacula."

"spectacles to men"; all eyes are fixed on them. Laxity, vice, self-indulgence, levity in them are bewailed in Sion, and cause exultation in Ascalon. He mentions definite kinds of misdemeanour which seem to have been common among the clergy. A prophet, he declares, might well say to the clergy what the satirist said to his fellow-citizens—

"Quærenda pecunia primum,
Virtus post nummos."[1]

"With us it is something if the Church enjoys, I say not the second or third, but even the last place, in our thoughts." He points to the lawlessness, recklessness, profanity, and atheism which had resulted from the relaxation of the old beliefs and discipline of the Church; the confusions within the Church herself, the ceaseless intrigues of Rome, the fanaticism of the sectaries, the irreverence and frowardness of the common people: in worship, "no kneeling, no sign of reverence while the prayers are going on; the same gestures and behaviour in church service as in the playhouse."

Thirdly, he rebukes the want of a true pastoral spirit in the clergy. How eager they are in pursuing their own private interests; how remiss and slack in care for the flock, how narrow-minded and short-sighted in their estimate of the sphere of labour committed to them! He speaks even in a menacing tone of the certain results of continued neglect: "If you attend not to the flock, the flock will attend to you. An unnatural state of things, portentous indeed, that this should come to pass: but you have already experienced it to some extent;[2] while you are neglect-

[1] Horat. *Epist.* i. 1. 53.

[2] In the Mar-Prelate libels.

ful of the people, be sure that the people has its eye on you."

One passage of significant warning is not without present importance: "I am sure you have observed that this establishment (*status*) and order of ours derives its prestige and effectiveness from the consciences of men, and unless it be vouchsafed us to commend it to them in the sight of God, and to win for it some inward reverence in them, . . . in vain will any law favour or defend us. . . . If our doctrine is a derision and our life a scandal, it may be that not in a moment, not in the twinkling of an eye, but gradually, your church establishment will grow old, decay, and tend to vanish away, because of the weakness and unprofitableness thereof." [1]

We are struck by the very similar tone of the following passage from Bacon's *Advertisement*:—

"Concerning the occasion of controversies, it cannot be denied but that the imperfections in the conversation and government of those which have chief place in the Church, have ever been principal causes and motives of schisms and divisions. For, whilst the bishops and governors of the Church continue full of knowledge and good works; whilst they feed the flock, indeed; whilst they deal with the secular states in all liberty and resolution, according to the majesty of their calling, and the precious care of souls imposed upon them; so long the Church is situate as it were upon a hill; no man maketh question of it, or seeketh to depart from it. But when these virtues in the fathers and leaders of the Church have lost their light, and that they wax worldly, lovers of themselves,

[1] *Opusc. Posthuma*, p. 39; cp. Strype, *Whitgift*, ii. p. 142.

and pleasers of men, then men begin to grope for the Church as in the dark; they are in doubt whether they be the successors of the apostles or of the Pharisees; yea, howsoever they sit in Moses' chair, yet they can never speak *tanquam auctoritatem habentes*, as having authority, because they have lost their reputation in the consciences of men, by declining their steps from the way which they trace out to others."[1] It is interesting to observe that Andrewes and Bacon were at one in their sense of the real peril that threatened the Church—the violent reaction of outraged conscience.

The closing years of Elizabeth's reign were marked by a decided advance towards a more settled state of things. The work of Parker and Whitgift was beginning to tell; there was a growing advance towards uniformity; and the efforts of the bishops had enforced a sober standard of discipline and doctrine, which imperceptibly exercised an educational effect on the rising generation. Time and firm policy had practically established the English liturgy in the affections of the people. A school of thought had arisen at Cambridge moulded by the teaching of Baro, and preferring the Fathers and Schoolmen to the works of Calvin. Of this school Andrewes was at Queen Elizabeth's death the most prominent representative, a fact of which the queen herself was probably sensible. She received Andrewes with marked favour, and enjoyed his sermons.[2] She bestowed on him a stall at Westminster in 1597, and

[1] *Works*, Ellis & Spedding, vol. viii. p. 80.

[2] His first sermon before the court, on Ps. lxxviii. 34, was preached on Ash Wednesday, 1590.

four years later raised him to the deanery. More than once during this period he was offered a bishopric, but with noble independence declined the promotion, on the ground of unwillingness to accept the inevitable condition, namely, alienation for the benefit of the crown of a part of the revenues of the see.[1] It had been Elizabeth's policy systematically to leave sees vacant, in order to enjoy the revenues. Parker had raised his voice in vain; but Andrewes' conduct was probably a more effectual protest. He held the deanery five years—a period marked by only two important events. On March 24, 1603, Elizabeth died, and was buried in the abbey. As dean, Andrewes preached the funeral sermon. He also assisted at the coronation of her successor on July 25—this being the first occasion when the Anglican rite was used.[2]

The only other incident of note was the meeting—probably in the deanery—of the Westminster Committee for preparing the Authorised Version of James I. To Andrewes' company was assigned the translation of the Pentateuch and of the historical books, Joshua to 2 Kings. He seems during this time to have drawn close the bonds of connection between the abbey and the school,[3] and himself took a warm and practical interest in the studies and discipline of the boys.[4] When he vacated the deanery, "he left it . . . a place truly exemplarily collegiate in all respects

[1] Perry, *English Church History*, 2nd Period, pp. 272, 322. In his *Funeral Sermon*, bishop Buckeridge says: "If it please you I will make his answer for him, *Nolo episcopari;* and I will not be made a bishop, because I will not alienate bishop's lands."

[2] See Stanley, *History of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 88, 180, who notices the changes in ritual.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 486.

[4] See below, p. 95.

both within and without, free from debts and arrearages, from encroachments and evil customs; the school-boys, in the four years he stayed there, being much improved, not by his care and oversight only, but by his own personal and other labours also with them."[1]

Such was the position of Andrewes at the opening of the seventeenth century. He had qualified himself, so far as diligence, learning, and experience went, for a leadership for which his studious habits and retiring nature made him disinclined. It was natural that Elizabeth's successor should look to him as one exceptionally fitted, by his gifts of learning and character, to assist in repelling the attacks by which the Church and Throne were soon to be assailed.

In one of his sermons, preached before the queen (1594), occurs a passage which gives Andrewes' own view of Elizabeth's work for the Church. It contains something deeper than a courtly compliment: it is the utterance of a thoughtful mind and a full heart. He says of Elizabeth that she, "like Zerubbabel, first by princely magnanimity laid the corner-stone in a troublesome time; and since, by heroical constancy, through many both alluring proffers and threatening dangers, hath brought forth the head stone also with the prophet's acclamation, 'Grace, grace unto it.' . . . No terrors, no enticement, no care of her safety hath removed her from her steadfastness; but with a fixed

[1] Isaacson, p. xviii. "Among the Westminster scholars at this time were Hacket, the biographer of archbishop Williams, and Brian Duppa, afterwards bishop of Chichester, who learned Hebrew from Andrewes" (Bliss). George Herbert also entered the school before the dean's removal.

eye, with straight steps, with a resolute mind, hath entered herself, and brought us into Zoar. It is a little one, but therein our souls shall live; and we are in safety, all the cities of the plain being in combustion round about us."[1] The queen's policy of repression failed indeed to accomplish all that its supporters hoped and intended. It left to the English Church a legacy of trouble, fear, and weakness; it roused a spirit of implacable animosity to the Anglican system, and left behind it bitter memories which were destined to bear fruit in the next century. One thing only it had accomplished. It had handed on unimpaired to a wiser and calmer generation of churchmen the essential framework of ecclesiastical order and tradition by which the continuity of the English Church was to be secured.[2]

[1] Lent Sermon, no. IV. vol. ii. p. 76.

[2] Cf. Wakeman, *The Church and the Puritans*, p. 55.

CHAPTER III

ANDREWES AT THE COURT OF JAMES I

THE condition, prospects, and policy of the English Church under the first of the Stuarts are not by any means pleasing to contemplate. The most notable feature of the time is the close alliance between the Church and the monarchy. This alliance involved the linking of the Church's fortunes to a system of arbitrary government, of which the rising spirit of English liberty was ere long to make short and decisive work. Within fifty years both monarchy and Church were involved in a common catastrophe. It is worth while, as explaining the position of men like Andrewes, to examine a little more closely the nature of this fateful union.

To James the maintenance of the church system in England was a point of political and personal expediency. In the institution of episcopacy, which was menaced by Puritanism, he saw the chief safeguard of his throne. His eyes were opened to the real tendency of the presbyterian claim by the Hampton Court Conference in January 1604—a conference in which Andrewes took part. The suggestion of the Puritan, Dr. Reynolds, that the prophesyings might be revived under due regulation by a council of

presbyters assisting the bishop, excited James' fears and roused his temper. He summarily broke up the conference, and thenceforth attached himself entirely to the Church cause. To him "no bishop, no king," was henceforth an axiom of government. His practical experience of the presbyterian system had taught him to see in it instinctively the enemy of absolutism.[1]

The bishops on their part, headed by Whitgift, were encouraged by the apparent success of the system of compulsion. They welcomed, no doubt with undue effusiveness, a monarch who regarded the cause of their order as identical with his own; but they believed sincerely enough that the only hope of the Church lay in the enforcement of uniformity. It is this belief that justifies the theologians of this period in their mistaken and excessive deference to royalty. In preaching the doctrine of divine right and the duty of submission, they felt that they were strengthening their own position as champions of historical Christianity. By the Reformation, it has been said, "the principle of authority had been most widely shaken," [2] and the exaggerated idea of monarchical rights was a substitute for the religious authority of the pope. The personal weaknesses of the Stuarts discredited that authority and rendered it odious to their subjects, but the appeal to the crown appeared at the time the natural safeguard of church order and discipline. Something, too, must be allowed for the new position in which the

[1] Cp. Green, *Short History*, p. 467. Hallam's account (*Constitutional History*, ch. vi.) of the conference is unduly prejudiced. He speaks of the "abject baseness of the bishops, mixed, according to the custom of servile natures, with insolence towards their opponents."

[2] Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 83.

bishops found themselves at court. Elizabeth had snubbed them, and ordered them about like servants. Under James they were raised to a position of dignity; they were the equals of statesmen and courtiers; they were trusted advisers of the crown. We must also recollect that many of the bishops must have genuinely admired the attainments of the new monarch. His scholarship was respectable; his knowledge of affairs considerable; he was a conversationalist of repute; to crown all, he was an author. He talked well, and listened well. Indeed, his was the only court where "the profession of learned men was in any degree appreciated." He "loved speculative discourse upon moral and political subjects."[1] Casaubon found him "greater than report—an excellent monarch, who is really more instructed than most people give him credit for."[2] On the sober mind of Bishop Hall he produced the same impression: "A king higher than other princes by the head and shoulders, who in learning and knowledge exceedeth all his one hundred and five predecessors."[3]

Thus, on the whole, there is much to explain and palliate the servility of the bishops; it is easy to censure their failure to comprehend or sympathise with the growing popular movement. But they do

[1] Pattison, *Life of Casaubon*, pp. 295, 314.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 320, 321. Casaubon gives an account of his being present early in 1611 at court (*prandenti affui*); the king was examining the notes attached to the Douay version, which had lately appeared, all supper time with Andrewes, Montague, and another prelate (Bliss, p. lxxx.). Andrewes seems to have been greatly attached to the king; *e.g.* in *Ep.* I *ad P. Molin.* he says the king has just recovered from an illness, "sed respexit nos Deus; atque illum nobis, ac in illo nos nobis reddidit."

[3] Lewis, *Life of Bishop Hall*, p. 168.

not appear to have been more blind than their contemporaries. "It needed a prophet to tell that this close alliance between episcopacy and monarchy, between episcopal discipline and arbitrary government, was the beginning of a rift between the Church and the people."[1]

The policy of the bishops was already fixed and traditional when Andrewes appeared at the court of King James. For him it would only have attractions as a sphere in which learning met with a genuine and appreciative welcome. Theological discussion was indeed the passion of the age, and Andrewes was marked out by circumstances as the foremost English theologian of his day. Happily, his character was one capable of standing the ordeal of a life at court. His habitual attendance on the king never robbed him of his quiet simplicity, his gentleness, his independence, his large devotion to learning.

We have already noticed that Andrewes was a member of the conference at Hampton Court. He took no part in the discussion, beyond pointing out to the king some patristic authority for the use of the cross in baptism; but he was, as a matter of course, appointed to serve on the commission for carrying into effect the main point conceded to the Puritans—the new translation of the Bible. Within two years his reluctance to accept a bishopric was overcome: he accepted the see of Chichester, and was consecrated November 3, 1605, in the chapel at Lambeth by the archbishop (Bancroft) and four assistant bishops. At the same time the dignity of Lord Almoner was conferred on him, together with certain privileges that greatly augmented the value of the office. His eleva-

[1] Wakeman, p. 74.

tion terminated his connection with Pembroke Hall, of which he resigned the mastership on November 5, after about sixteen years' tenure.

At this point some description is needed of the new sphere in which Andrewes was now called to move. The materials for a sketch of James I. are ample; indeed, there are few monarchs of whose peculiarities of character and policy we have such minute information. The situation of James resembled that of Elizabeth specially in one particular, namely, that he had been placed by force of circumstances at the head of the protestant powers of Europe, and was therefore a conspicuous object of Roman controversial hostility. He had been brought up in the reformed doctrines, but his experience in Scotland of the stubborn and violent temper of presbyterianism had taught him to suspect, and finally to abhor, that system. "Take heed, my son, to such Puritans," he writes in *Basilikon Doron*, "very pests in the Church and commonweal, whom no deserts can oblige, neither oaths or promises bind, breathing nothing but seditions and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the Word) the square of their conscience."[1] What James either could not or would not understand was that in England, at any rate, Puritanism was allied with genuine zeal for the liberties of the people. The majority of the House of Commons and the surviving ministers of the queen were men of Puritan sympathies. The king was, in fact, never really in touch with his subjects. He soon betrayed the mingled levity, coarseness, vanity, pedantry, and indiscretion of his

[1] Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of King James I.* vol. i. p. 36.

character. It was noted that in his very first conversation with the French ambassador he talked freely of his matrimonial projects for his children, and sneered at Elizabeth. His chief passion was for amusement, and to hunting especially he devoted many weeks in the year. The court soon became notorious for its senseless idleness and profusion. Large sums were squandered on festivities, revels, and masques, in which the queen with her ladies took prominent and undignified part. Low and brutal sports, such as cockfighting, which Elizabeth had prohibited, were revived.

In a letter of the time we have a clever sketch of the arts most likely to win royal favour. "He (the king) doth wondrously covet learned discourse. He doth admire good fashion in clothes, and pray you to give good heed hereunto. The king is nicely heedful of such points, and dwelleth on good looks and handsome accoutrements . . . . In your discourse you must not dwell too long on any one subject, and touch but lightly on religion. Do not yourself say 'this is good or bad,' but 'if it were your majesty's good opinion I myself should think so and so.' . . . Find out a clue to guide you to the heart and most delightful subject of his mind. I will advise one thing: the roan jennet whereon the king rideth every day must not be forgotten to be praised, etc."[1] We can readily understand the ease with which adventurers like Carr and Villiers, with their graceful manners, handsome faces, and obsequious tongues, secured the king's favour. But it was not only the promotion of favourites that scandalised serious men of

[1] *Court and Times of King James I.* vol. i. p. 327.

affairs. An utter dissoluteness was the prevailing feature of the court. "I will now in good sooth declare to you," writes Sir J. Harrington to a friend, "to you that will not blab—that the gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts as if the devil was contriving that every man should blow himself up by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance." [1] An incongruous sphere as we might suppose for a devout prelate of ascetic life and retiring habits. And yet even Andrewes would occasionally find himself at home in a court which could display a widely different side. The king was a professed patron of learning.[2] Before his accession he had corresponded with Casaubon, and had assured him that, "besides the care of the Church, it was his fixed resolve to encourage letters and learned men, as he considered them the strength and ornament of kingdoms." [3] But he devoted special attention to theology. He was "so fond of divinity that he cared very little to attend to any literary subject." [4] He read controversial treatises and pamphlets of the day: he went out of his way to meddle in theological disputes, notably when he sent deputies to the Synod of Dort in 1618; he was interested in the question of a possible reunion of Christendom. Theology was, in fact, the passion of the age, in Europe generally, and not least in England. "The only reading," writes Casaubon,[5] "which flourishes here is theology. The educated

[1] Aikin, vol. i. p. 281.
[2] Pattison, *Life of Casaubon*, p. 295.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 299.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 323.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 324. G. T. Voss writes to Andrewes (June 1623) in disparaging terms of his own studies (history, rhetoric, and chronology):

men in this part of the world contemn everything which does not bear upon theology."

It was this common interest in theology that naturally drew together the king and the leading churchmen. Andrewes, doubtless, felt the attraction. He knew too well what learning meant to regard the king as a first-hand authority in sacred science, but he would feel the admiration for James that a student generally has for a versatile man of affairs—who not only makes some pretension to learning, but is also qualified by experience to pass shrewd judgments on men and things. It is only fair to remember this when we censure the excessive adulation that was customary in those days.[1] In fact, the fault of the clergy was due partly to a habit contracted during the late reign, partly to a genuine admiration of the king's qualities, partly to a sincere belief that majesty was sacred,[2] and that to royalty belonged a right divine. We can well conceive how perilous such a sphere would be to faithful churchmen ; how readily some at least among them might learn to acquiesce in vice, folly, and worldliness of tone ; how quickly they might lose any power of independent judgment. It is to be feared that there was some justice in a remark of Donne's : " The divines of these times are become mere

"hoc studium multum abest a sacrorum studiorum dignitate." In these days, he adds, "veneranda antiquitas vix ullos sui invenit amatores atque adeo *solida* eruditio non modo despicatui sed etiam odio est" (*Ep.* xxxvii.).

[1] Laymen were sometimes disgusted by the courtly address of bishops. "A main cause of all the misery and mischief in our land is the fearfullest of all flattery of our prelates and clergy" (*Court and Times of King James I.* vol. ii. p. 392).

[2] The title "Sacred Majesty" is applied to Elizabeth in Sermon II. *on Repentance* (vol. i. p. 324).

advocates, as though religion were a temporal inheritance; . . . and herein are they likest advocates, that though they be fed by the way with dignities and other recompenses, yet that for which they plead is none of theirs. They write for religion without it."[1]

Such was the condition of the court in which Andrewes was called to play his part. He was henceforth in constant attendance on the king; and for about eighteen years preached regularly in the royal chapel, at least two or three times a year. It is some testimony to the existence of higher interests even in a worldly and corrupt court, that Andrewes was so acceptable as a preacher. "For seventeen years it was he who every Christmas Day expounded to the court of England the doctrine of the Incarnation; for eighteen, on Easter Day, that of the Resurrection; for fifteen, on Whitsunday, that of the Holy Spirit; for fourteen, in Lent, that of self-denial."[2] His influence over James was not without effect, at least on the king's outward deportment. James was totally lacking in dignity; he habitually swore; his wit was tasteless and sometimes coarse; he resented contradiction; his manners were awkward and ungracious: but the serene simplicity and gravity of Andrewes is said to have kept him in restraint. The bishop's presence acted, in fact, as a check on the levity and indecencies of the court. In a sphere where churchmen were competing for notice and preferment, he remained unambitious, unobtrusive, unworldly: "going in and out as he did among the

[1] Aikin, vol. i. p. 422.

[2] *Dictionary of National Biography*, *s.v.* Andrewes.

frivolous and grasping courtiers who gathered round the king, he seemed to live in a peculiar atmosphere of holiness. . . . His life was a devotional testimony against the Roman dogmatism on the one side, and the Puritan dogmatism on the other."[1] So far as was consistent with his public duties, it was noticed that Andrewes avoided the court; he shrank from the inconsistency of being at once the preacher of an austere religion, and a competitor for preferments and the honours of worldly station. One anecdote reveals his power of withstanding the corrupting influence of such a life. On one occasion, we are told, the king turned to Andrewes and Neale (bishop of Durham) as they stood behind his chair: "My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it without all this formality of Parliament?" "God forbid, sir, but you should," was Neale's ready reply; "you are the breath of our nostrils." Andrewes was silent, but on being pressed said quietly: "Sir, I think it is lawful for you to take my brother Neale's money, because he offers it."[2]

We must be content with a rapid sketch of Andrewes' public career. In 1609 he was translated to Ely, and held that see for nine years; but so marked was his influence, that it was confidently expected he would have been elevated to the primacy in succession to Bancroft (1610). Nine years later (1618) he was moved to Winchester, and appointed dean of the Chapel Royal, which post he held until his death in 1626.[3]

[1] Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 120.

[2] This anecdote is recorded in Waller's Life; see Bliss, p. xii.

[3] In this office he was immediately succeeded by Laud.

Throughout his public life Andrewes was necessarily immersed in a wearisome round of secular business and engagements at court. In 1616 he became a privy councillor of England, and in 1617 of Scotland; but it was remarked that he spoke little at the Board, and would "meddle little in civil and temporal affairs, being out of his profession and element."[1] He would say when he came to the council table, "Is there anything to be done to-day for the Church?" If they answered "Yea," then he said, "I will stay;" if "No," then he said, "I will be gone." He had not Laud's talent for the exercise of power. But he conscientiously discharged duties he could not escape; attended the king on his progresses, and was present at functions of state, such as the creation of the Prince of Wales.[2] He sat on various commissions, not always concerned with ecclesiastical matters, and occasionally in the High Commission Court. With purely political affairs he concerned himself little, but in 1617 we find him signing a joint letter to the king on the retrenchment of his expenses. In 1621 he was one of the peers who waited on the disgraced chancellor (Bacon) to ascertain his acknowledgment of the confession lodged in his name with the House of Lords, and a few days later was present at the delivery of the great seal to Williams, dean of Westminster. We know nothing of Andrewes' inner thoughts of Bacon's fall; but to the public shock and scandal must have been added the pain which only an

[1] Buckeridge, *Funeral Sermon.*

[2] Such a "creation" took place twice in Andrewes' lifetime: in 1610 (Prince Henry), and in 1616 (Prince Charles).

intimate friend of Bacon and a sincere admirer of his genius could experience. In February 1623 he served on a commission of grievances, and on July 20 of the same year was present at the ceremony of the king's solemn assent to the articles of the Spanish match [1]—a treaty which so soon fell to the ground. Whatever may have been the line publicly adopted by the bishops, there is no doubt they were much concerned as to the projected alliance of Prince Charles with the Spanish princess. This is clear from the well-known statement of Matthew Wren (afterwards bishop of Ely), who in 1623 returned with Charles and Buckingham from Spain, having accompanied them as chaplain to the prince. Wren's account is as follows. He had recently returned to London, when he received a sudden and urgent request from bishop Andrewes to attend at Winchester House. On obeying the summons, he found Andrewes, and with him Laud (now bishop of S. David's) and Neale of Durham in anxious deliberation. The bishops were anxious to hear from Wren what treatment the Church might expect at the hands of Charles. They asked "how the prince's heart stands to the Church of England, that when God brings him to the crown we may know what to hope for." Wren replied: "I know my master's learning is not equal to his father's; yet I know his judgment to be very right; and as for his affections in those particulars which your lordships have pointed at, for upholding the doctrine and discipline and right estate of the Church, I have more confidence of him than of his father." Some discussion followed, during which Andrewes kept silence; but at

[1] See below, p. 83.

last, addressing Wren, he said: "Well, doctor, God send you may be a true prophet concerning your master's inclinations in these particulars which we are glad to hear from you. I am sure I shall be a true prophet. I shall be in my grave, and so shall you, my lord of Durham. But, my lord of S. David's, and you, doctor, will live to see that day that your master will be put to it, upon his head and his crown, without he will forsake the support of the Church." [1]

The breaking off of the negotiations with Spain was welcomed by the nation as a timely deliverance; the narrative of Wren shows that even the king's adherents were apprehensive of the effect on the English Church of alliance with the foremost Roman Catholic power of Europe. When, in 1624, the Spanish policy of the king finally collapsed, new measures were adopted to check the growing boldness of the Romanists. Andrewes was a member of the royal commission for banishing Jesuits and seminary priests, and he probably shared in the general irritation and alarm that was felt at the startling aggressions of the papist faction. The appointment of this commission was the expiring effort of a repressive policy which had never been consistently applied, and for the failure of which the king alone is responsible.

His high station inflicted on Andrewes irksome personal duties to the king. Besides attending him on his progresses and at the opening of parliament, he was present when the king visited Cambridge in 1615, and accompanied him to Scotland in 1617. He was at the king's side at Royston during a short

[1] Wren, *Parentalia*, p. 45.

illness in 1619, but was prevented by ill-health from giving him the sacrament on his death-bed. On one important occasion, when the relations between king and parliament were becoming greatly strained, Andrewes preached before the Lords in Westminster Abbey (January 30, 1621), the Commons attending a sermon in the Temple Church. His sermon was an earnest and practical one on Psalm lxxxii. 1, but he made no allusion to the critical state of public affairs. We may regard his silence as a tacit protest against the growing tendency of churchmen to engage in politics and serve in secular offices, which brought such odium on Williams,[1] and afterwards on Laud.

In another chapter will be found a brief account of the purely ecclesiastical affairs in which Andrewes took part. The present chapter will have given some idea of the sphere in which Andrewes was called to move, and in which his simplicity and holiness must have often been severely put to the test. There is ground for satisfaction that he was not called to succeed Archbishop Bancroft in the primacy at the close of 1610. The bishops seem to have been generally anxious that he should be appointed, but the king had already promised his former minister, the earl of Dunbar, to raise Abbot to the vacant throne. Abbot had been chaplain and adviser to the earl, and was personally known to the king. He had only recently been translated from

[1] It is fair to say that Williams filled his office respectably, and used his patronage liberally and wisely; but the lawyers as a body naturally regarded the precedent as dangerous and inconvenient, and the appointment excited a natural suspicion and jealousy of the growing influence of the clergy.

Lichfield to London (January 1610). In many ways the appointment was unfortunate, but we may well doubt whether Andrewes, great as were his qualifications, possessed the necessary force of character, independence of mind, and power of statesmanship to guide the Church safely through the anxious and critical times that were impending. It is most probable that the energetic and restless spirit of Laud would have given him a dangerous ascendancy over Andrewes, and precipitated the collision between people and monarch, which was to involve his own ruin.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROMAN CONTROVERSY

The period between 1605 and 1610 is that of Andrewes' greatest literary activity, and the occasion of his controversial work is such as needs a separate treatment.

The policy of King James towards the Roman Catholics had commended itself to no class among his subjects. He had given hopes, before his accession, of improvement in their position, which under the recusancy laws of Elizabeth had become scarcely tolerable. Roman Catholics were heavily fined for non-attendance at church, and to be present at Mass was punishable with death. On his accession (1603) James promised some of the leading Romanists that the fines should be no longer exacted. They were accordingly remitted, and the penal laws enforced only against priests. The natural consequence was that the number of recusants largely increased. James was frightened, and within nine months of the remission of the fines issued an order for the banishment of priests; and presently confirmed by statute all the penal laws of Elizabeth, though without apparently intending to bring them into active operation. In February 1605, however, he took further action; the recusancy fines

were enforced, and it would seem that this step, coupled with a proclamation for the banishment of priests, drove the Romanists to desperation. The gunpowder plot was set on foot, and was ripe for execution in November 1605. This attempt may be regarded as the culminating effort of the papists to reconquer England for the papacy by violent means. Since the death of Philip II. of Spain (1598), the war with English independence had entered on a new and less dangerous phase. There was an invasion, it has been truly said, "not of force, but of opinion." The newly-founded order of Jesuits endeavoured to gain their objects by a war of books and pamphlets. This method had been already dexterously used by Parsons, who in 1594 published, under a pseudonym, a treatise on the succession to the English crown, the aim of which was "to show the extreme uncertainty of the succession, and to perplex men's minds by multiplying the number of competitors."[1]

The gunpowder plot, while it produced a strong anti-Catholic reaction in England, and probably put an end to the policy of violence, roused an army of Roman Catholic pamphleteers on the Continent. These writers made it their foremost object to excite sympathy for the conspirators, and especially for Henry Garnet, who had been tried and executed for his share in the plot, May 3, 1606. The Romanist partisans abroad industriously represented Garnet as a martyr, who had suffered death in defence of the sanctity of the confessional. The real degree of his complicity is not very clear, but the result of his trial (March 1606) was a foregone conclusion. To most Englishmen it

[1] Hallam, *Constitutional History*, ch. vi. vol. i. p. 285, note.

presented itself as "an opportunity which had at last been gained of striking a blow against that impalpable system which seemed to meet them at every turn, and which was the more terrible to the imagination because it contained elements with which the sword and the axe were found to be incapable of dealing."[1] There can be no doubt that Garnet gained knowledge of the details of the plot under seal of confession, but the Government shrank from taking their stand "on the moral principle that no religious duty, real or supposed, can excuse a man who allows a crime to be committed which he might have prevented." Garnet was with some difficulty convicted, and he persisted to the last in his denial "that he had had any knowledge of the plot except in confession, though he acknowledged that before that he had had *a general and confused knowledge* from Catesby."[2] He did not deny that he had prayed for the success of the enterprise. Such were the facts, supported by the supposed miracle of "Garnet's straw," on which Roman controversialists based their contention that Garnet was a martyr.

But the subsequent steps taken by the English government raised a new issue. After the detection of the plot, an oath of allegiance was imposed in England, expressly repudiating the tenet that princes excommunicated by the pope might be deposed or murdered by their subjects. The arch-priest, George Blackwell, deemed it permissible for English Roman Catholics to take this oath. But at this point Rome

[1] Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. i. pp. 277–282.

[2] "In all probability," says Professor Gardiner, "this is the exact truth;" cp. Bright, *History of England*, 2nd Period, p. 591.

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interfered. In a *breve* issued September 1606, the pope Paul V. condemned the taking of the oath, thus making the position of English Catholics one of perplexing difficulty. Blackwell even ventured to disregard the *breve* as a forgery. A year later the pope issued a second *breve*, peremptorily confirming the former document, and censuring those who had disregarded it. At the same time Cardinal Bellarmine wrote to Blackwell (September 28, 1607), complaining of his conduct, and stating the view of the Roman curia. "Most certain it is that in whatsoever words the oath is conceived by the adversaries of the faith in that kingdom, it tends to this end, that the authority of the head of the Church in England may be transferred from the successor of S. Peter to the successor of King Henry VIII." Blackwell is rebuked for his failure in moral courage, "whether it be owing to the suddenness of his apprehension, the bitterness of his persecution, or the imbecility of his age." He is finally exhorted to "gladden the Church which he has made heavy, and to merit not only pardon at God's hands, but a crown."

To the contention of Bellarmine that the oath of allegiance was in itself unlawful, King James himself replied in his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*.[1] Bellarmine's answer was put forth under an assumed name, *Responsio Matthaei Torti ad librum inscriptum, Triplici, etc.* (1608). The king replied by a reissue of his former pamphlet, adding to it a *Premonition*

[1] Full title, *Triplici nodo Triplex Cuneus; or, An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance against the two breves of pope Paulus Quintus and the late letter of cardinal Bellarmine to G. Blackwell the arch-priest.*

to all most mighty Monarchs, Kings, Free Princes, and States of Christendom, in which he diverges from the main point in dispute to the question of Garnet's complicity.[1] At the same time Andrewes was directed to prepare a more solid answer to Bellarmine. Chamberlain writes on October 21, 1608, to Carleton: "They say that the bishop of Chichester is appointed to answer Bellarmine about the oath of allegiance, which task I doubt how he will undertake and perform, being so contrary to his disposition and course to meddle with controversies." The king was very urgent, and tempted Andrewes with troublesome suggestions. In March 1609 the book is reported by Carleton to be done, and "much hearkened after." By June it was in the press. "The bishop of Chichester's book is in the press, whereof I have seen part, and it is a worthy work; only the brevity breeds obscurity, and puts the reader to some of that pains which was taken by the writer." [2]

Before the end of the year the book appeared, with the title *Tortura Torti;* but Andrewes' uncongenial[3] task was not yet finished. Bellarmine published in his own name a somewhat lame reply to the king's

[1] The Premonition is also interesting as containing James' confession of faith. He calls himself a "Catholic Christian." He accepts the three creeds, and first four councils, and the fathers of the Christian Church. "Whatever the fathers for the first 500 years did with an unanime consent agree upon to be believed as a necessary point of salvation, I either will believe it also or at least will be humbly silent, not taking upon me to condemn the same." In judging of patristic opinions he follows S. Augustine, and makes Scripture the standard (*Works of King James I.* p. 301).

[2] Carleton to Edmondes, June 8, 1609.

[3] "Scias me καὶ ἐκ φύσεως καὶ ἐκ προαιρέσεως pacis semper studiosum fuisse" (Andrewes' *Ep.* 1 *ad P. Molin.* s. fin.).

Premonition, *An Apology*[1] *for the Responsio Torti.* In this book he avowed the authorship of the former work; and Andrewes lost no time in setting to work to write another elaborate reply to the cardinal, which was published at the end of 1610, after having been submitted to Casaubon, who had lately arrived in England. This work, together with the reply to cardinal Perron, may be regarded as embodying Andrewes' final and deliberate judgment on the questions at issue between England and Rome. This will form the subject of study in another chapter. Our present task will be to review the general line of defence which Andrewes adopts in *Tortura Torti* against the main contentions of his Roman antagonist, especially in regard to three points—1. The oath of allegiance and the royal supremacy. 2. The papal claim to depose sovereigns, and to release from oaths. 3. The circumstances of the conspiracy.

1. The purport of the oath was industriously misrepresented by Bellarmine. It was declared to be an invasion of the spiritual authority of the pontiff. Andrewes, on the contrary side, maintains that there is a wide distinction between an oath of supremacy and an oath of allegiance. These two species of oath Bellarmine confused. The oath of allegiance was defensible as a protective and precautionary measure. The king, says Andrewes, claims the right of protecting himself against insidious and unscrupulous foes. He

[1] Andrewes did not think much of this *Apology*. "The bishop of Ely is set to reply to cardinal Bellarmine's *Answer* to the king's book, whereof I perceive he makes no great account, but thinks that either the man is much erred from what he was, or else that he did it with a contemptuous negligence" (Chamberlain to Winwood, February 13, 1610).

assumes no spiritual primacy. The very title of the oath shows it to be a necessary measure of self-defence against traitors; its aim is merely the detection of disloyal and disaffected subjects. There is no claim on the king's part to be "supreme governor of the Church." The matter of the supremacy is, in fact, untouched by the oath. A question, however, is raised by the contention of Bellarmine himself, who insists that the oath necessarily infringes the divine rights of the pontiff.[1] What, then, is the nature—what are the limits of the royal supremacy over the Church? Andrewes appeals in answer to Scripture and to history. He points to the position of Charlemagne as illustrating the independence of papal control rightfully claimed by sovereigns; but after all, the scriptural ground is the strongest; the New Testament expressly enjoins obedience to civil authority, and the limits of royal control over the Church are illustrated by what is recorded of Jewish kings in the Old Testament. There kings are frequently described as regulating ecclesiastical affairs, initiating reforms in the Church, deposing unworthy high priests, destroying emblems of idolatry, publicly renewing the covenant between Jehovah and His people. Nor are any of these actions regarded as usurpations of spiritual power or invasions of the priestly functions. Scripture,

[1] The oath ran: "I, A. B., do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our sovereign lord, King James, is lawful and rightful king of this realm . . . and that the pope, neither of himself nor by any authority of the Church or See of Rome, . . . hath any power or authority to depose the king . . . or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majesty, etc."

in fact, gives us ample warrant for assigning to princes a certain regulative jurisdiction over the Church and the hierarchy. But although this is no newly-founded claim on behalf of the monarch, it needs to be guarded against the perverse misconceptions of controversial opponents. Rightly understood, the royal supremacy involves (1) no claim to impose new articles of faith or modes of worship, (2) no right to exercise sacerdotal functions, or touch sacred things; (3) but only the right to order the external affairs of the Church as we see them ordered by godly kings in the Jewish Church, and by Christian monarchs like Charlemagne, who was styled by the Council of Mainz *verae religionis rector*.[1]

2. The next point raised is that of the pope's claim to exercise deposing power; and when we take into account what this claim really involved, and its "fatal bearing on the primary conditions of human society,"[2] we can understand the tone of indignation and scorn that pervades the *Tortura Torti*, underlying the brilliancy of wit and readiness in retort, which give vivacity and brightness to the treatment of a wearisome subject. According to Bellarmine, the deposing power of the pontiff is an "universally acknowledged fact" (*inter omnes convenit*). Popes may lawfully depose heretical kings, and absolve their subjects from allegiance. Andrewes makes short work of the "universally admitted fact." He advises Tortus to use the phrase more cautiously in future. In the present instance, he shows that the "fact" is not one on which even the Jesuits themselves are agreed. The papal epistles which support the tenet are in

[1] See *Tortura Torti*, esp. pp. 466–469.

[2] Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 92.

some cases, at least, admittedly spurious;[1] and the canons of thirteenth century councils cannot avail to prove an immemorial doctrine of the Catholic Church. At the best they arrogate for the pontiff, but cannot confer, this pretended power.[2] It is abundantly clear that the deposing power is, at any rate, not *de fide*. Andrewes takes a different line, but an effective one, when he appeals (the idea is characteristic of the thinkers of that age) to the law of nature. "This," he says, "is a theological certainty and agreed on by all, that Christ did not come to invert or displace the order either of nature or of society; rather He came to give His sanction to it—nay, to add sanctity to it. He does not loose the bonds of nature."[3] The claim of kings to allegiance is, in fact, like the parental right—an element in the natural order of the world. A king does not forfeit this right even by infidelity,[4] still less by excommunication. Theodosius, when under the censure of Ambrose, did not thereby forfeit his claim on the obedience of his subjects. If Bellarmine's theory be correct, a heretical king would be worse off even than a heathen.

But Bellarmine is not even consistent. He denies that James is to be called a Christian at all, yet he contends that the pope is not *Judex regum* save in so far as they are Christian.[5] The pope, therefore, says Andrewes, has no right to take cognisance of

[1] *Tort.* p. 197.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 251. "Arrogatur hic quidem pontifici jus, non datur; et praesumitur quod fuerat ante in praxi, non decernitur."

[3] *Ibid.* p. 54. [4] Cp. *Sermons*, vol. iv. p. 57.

[5] James had urged the same point: either the king's cause was *alienum ab illius* (Papae) *foro*; or *non alienum*, in which latter case he ought to have been warned before being deposed (*Tort.* p. 109).

James' supposed offences. Even granting that he has the right, the proper penalty would be, not deprivation of kingly rights and possessions, but excommunication. Tortus is reminded of Bernard's injunction to pope Eugenius: "Your power relates to crimes, not to possessions."[1] This confusion of spiritual jurisdiction with secular or material power, in fact, reduces a Christian king's position to an absurdity. "The king will be in worse case than his meanest subject. The heir [to the throne] who has never sinned is punished. The power entrusted to the pontiff for edification is used for destruction."[2] Thus the pope, who claims to be Peter's successor, ignores the charge, "Feed My sheep;" he prefers to act on the injunction, "Arise, Peter, kill and eat."[3] Andrewes, in fact, treats the *deposing* power (which in this case involved active connivance at plots against the king's life) with raillery. Bellarmine's contention is not worth serious argument. It cannot be consistently defended. "When any complaint is made of the pontiff's action as *judge*, we are told he is a *shepherd* tending his flock and protecting them from poisonous pastures. The cardinal suddenly transforms the pontiff from a judge into a shepherd, in order that he may accomplish as pastor what he was unable rightfully to perform as judge."[4] In any case the right of excom-

[1] Bern. *de Consid.* i. 6. "In criminibus, non in possessionibus potestas vestra."

[2] *Tort.* p. 57.

[3] "Potestas qua reges simul de throno simul de vita dejicitis nihil ad pastoralem. Laniorum illa potestas, non pastorum est" (p. 108).

[4] *Tort.* p. 111. "Pontificem subito de judice transmutat in pastorem; ut quod facere non potuit ut judex, saltem faciat ut pastor."

munication involves no right of deposition; "a spiritual ruler cannot impose other than spiritual penalties."[1]

The bishop then turns to the pope's absolving power—his right to dispense with oaths and to release subjects from allegiance to their lawful monarch. Bellarmine had contended that our Lord's charge to S. Peter involved the papal right to absolve not only from sins, but from penalties, censures, oaths, and vows, when it may be expedient for the glory of God and the good of souls.[2] Andrewes replies that no power can release men from moral duty or obligation. They cannot be absolved from the *moral duty* of allegiance, which is implied in the act of taking an oath of allegiance.[3] To release from the bondage of sin is indeed to use the keys of the kingdom of heaven; to loose the bond of law is to have recourse to the keys of hell. Indeed, says Andrewes, this is the reason why Jesuits are hated even by the secular clergy of their own communion, that by their doctrine of equivocation they relax the very bonds of human society. "This power," he says, "ought not to be called the absolving power; it is rather a method of dissolving all things, even the very fabric of the world."[4] No one can be dispensed from the laws of nature or of God, and the law of allegiance is a law of God implied in the fifth commandment, and having even the higher sanction of being an evangelic law: "Be ye subject to the king as supreme, for this is the

[1] "Haeresis causa spiritualis; excommunicatio poena spiritualis. Plectere vult, cum spiritualis rector sit, crimen spirituale? Plectat vero sed poena spirituali; sistat ibi modo" (p. 249).

[2] *Tort.* p. 66.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 67.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 68. See a passage of most outspoken severity in *Sermons*, vol. iii. pp. 254, 255.

will of God" (1 Pet. ii. 13–15). To set this precept aside is to put Paul V. on a level with Peter the apostle. The Church cannot loose where she does not bind. *Laxet nodos ecclesia quos ipsa nexuit.*[1]

In general, therefore, oaths cannot be remitted except when, like Herod's vow, they are rash (*temeraria*). An oath to commit sin is not binding. Indeed, "the swearer is bound not to keep it," says Aquinas. Thus the pontiff ought to have released the gunpowder conspirators from their oath.[2] Finally, the writer points out that the very nature of the oath (being *assertory* not *promissory*) made it one that could not be dispensed with.[3]

3. With regard to the circumstances of the conspiracy, Andrewes complains of Bellarmine's vague expression that he "deplores" the event. What does this mean? Possibly Bellarmine "deplores" its ill-success, just as Sixtus V., speaking of the death of Henry III. of France, called it a "providential and memorable deed."[4] If the Roman curia "execrates conspiracies," why are the accomplices of the plot, G[reenway] and G[erard], welcomed at Rome? Why is Garnet glorified as a martyr? Why is the fiction of Garnet's straw so assiduously cherished and circulated? Bellarmine had called Garnet "a man of incomparable sanctity of life." He suffered only for refusing to reveal what his conscience forbade to reveal. Andrewes answers that he was a man of notoriously bad

[1] *Tort.* p. 70.

[2] Cp. Andrewes' *Speech in the Star Chamber concerning Vows.*

[3] A. quotes Aquinas (*Summa*, 2. 2; 89; 9). "Materia juramenti assertorii quod est de praeterito vel praesenti in quandam necessitatem jam transiit et immutabilis facta est" (p. 81).

[4] *Tort.* p. 96.

habits.[1] And as to the plot, he *did* know from many quarters what was intended. Even were it admitted that he only knew under seal of confession what was intended, there were several courses open to him: He could have divulged enough to avert so great a crime without mentioning names. He might have given private information to the pope. He might have urged the person confessing to abandon the crime and induce others to do so, under threat of divulging the plot if the penitent refused compliance. He might have warned those whose lives were imperilled. He did none of these things; his sentence therefore was just.[2] As a fact, however, Garnet confessed to having sinned by concealment of his knowledge.[3]

The plot is indeed excused, on the ground that the Catholics were driven to desperation by the harsh measures of the king.[4] "He would have been safe," it was contended, "if he had granted to the Romanists liberty of worship." To this Andrewes replies by pointing to the case of Henry III. of France. Henry had granted freedom to his Catholic subjects, but that did not protect him from assassination. In England, moreover, the measures taken against recusants were rendered necessary by the fact that conspiracies (*e.g.*

[1] "Bacchum certe magis redolebat quam Apollinem" (p. 272).

[2] Cp. pp. 272, 355–357, 361.

[3] Pp. 350, 351. Cp. *Responsio*, p. 436: "Quam facile factu hoc, viam inire de re sine personis revelanda, nec ullo cum periculo suo, si in Garnetto bona mens. . . . si non confectam rem quam detectam maluisset." It is also important to observe that the question whether intended crimes communicated to a priest in confession should be revealed, was one by no means finally settled in the negative. Andrewes cites various authorities who were in favour of a contrary view—*e.g.* Alex. of Hales, and others (*Tort.* pp. 356, 357).

[4] *Tort.* p. 98.

that of Watson and Clarke) had been formed in the very first year of the king's reign; and further, in the enforcement of the penal laws, the king's lenity had been most conspicuous.[1]

Andrewes points out a circumstance which is now historically clear, namely, that it was the policy of the pope that had actually driven the English Catholics to desperation. The crime of recusancy is to be traced to the bull of Pius V. deposing Elizabeth (1570). Before that date the term "recusant" was unknown to the law, and those who declined to conform were few. The papal bull turned men first into recusants, then into traitors. This had been urged by Coke in Garnet's trial. "Truly most miserable and dangerous was the state of Romish recusants in respect to this bull; for either they must be hanged for treason in resisting their lawful sovereign, or cursed by the pope for yielding due obedience to her majesty."[2] The expectation of its being issued encouraged the rebellion in the North (1569).[3] The laws subsequently enforced were directed, not against a particular form of religious belief, but against disloyalty, concealing itself beneath the mask of religion.[4] Nor was there any display of undue severity under James. Blackwell, for instance, had only been imprisoned,[5] when harsher measures might have been adopted.

We may notice, in concluding, that a good deal is said in the *Tortura Torti* in defence of James' action, which bears on points of Anglican theology. James had been compared by Bellarmine to Julian:

[1] *Tort.* p. 201. [2] *Criminal Trials*, ap. Russell, p. 208.
[3] *Tort.* p. 154. Cp. Green, *Short History*, p. 382.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 155. [5] *Ibid.* p. 159.

but Andrewes insists that not only is he no apostate; he is not even heretical. He is a Catholic, and adheres to the Catholic faith. The name Catholic is not the peculiar prerogative of Rome. Nor is it opposed to "heretic," a term of which the proper contradictory is "orthodox."[1]

The theological questions, however, which are raised in the *Tortura* will meet us in another connection. On a survey of the whole book, the most interesting points are two—(1) The appeal to history for the settlement of the question of papal claims; (2) The appeal to great moral considerations with which Andrewes confronts the Romanist appeal to the authority of the Church. There are parts of the *Tortura* which, no doubt, are somewhat disfigured by the controversial tone; but we must remember that the questions in dispute, though obsolete now, were then of vital interest, and the provocation which inspired an English writer in his treatment of the subject was such as we can scarcely measure now-a-days. Allowance must also be made for the haste and pressure under which Andrewes' work was compiled. The book is to be regarded as a large pamphlet —witty, pungent, learned, and skilful in retort; but it has an enduring value in so far as Andrewes, by the breadth of his treatment, lifts to a higher level the serious subject in dispute—the relation of the civil to the spiritual power. On this point professor Gardiner makes an interesting remark: "As far as they were builders of systems, the men of the seventeenth century failed. . . . Yet it would be wrong to pour upon these systems the contempt with which they

[1] *Tort.* pp. 368–374.

sometimes meet. . . . There was that in them which would live—the belief in the paramount claims of duty; the faith in a divine order in political, in social, and in domestic life, which has stamped itself indelibly on the English mind."[1] Andrewes was not only capable of meeting his opponents on the ground of historical knowledge and controversial skill; he had an incomparably deeper sense than they of the supremacy of moral over merely technical considerations. Behind the claims of Rome, and overshadowing them, stood the New Testament. The pretended traditions of the Roman Church were confronted with the acknowledged laws of Christ's kingdom.[2]

We may conclude this chapter by quoting a passage which, as giving Andrewes' own impression of the gunpowder plot, is worth recording. On the first anniversary (November 5, 1606) he preached before the king at Whitehall, and dwelt on the circumstances that had made the plot so revolting to the religious and moral sense of Englishmen. He speaks of it as an "abomination of desolation standing in the holy place." "Undertaken with a holy oath; bound with the holy sacrament (that must needs be in a holy place); warranted for a holy act, tending to the advancement of a holy religion, and by holy persons called by a most holy name, the name of Jesus. That these holy religious persons, even the chief of all religious persons (the Jesuits), gave not only absolution, but resolution, that all this was well done; that it was by them justified as lawful, sanctified as meritorious, and should have been glorified (but it

[1] *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 240.

[2] See esp. Sermon VII. *on the Gunpowder Plot* (vol. iv. p. 336 foll.).

wants glorifying because the event failed; that is the grief; if it had not, glorified) long ere this and canonised, as a very good and holy act, and we had had orations out of the conclave in commendation of it—[this is the pitch of all]. . . . This shrining it, such an abomination, setting it in the holy place, so ugly and odious; making such a treason as this, a religious, missal, sacramental treason, hallowing it with orison, oath, and eucharist; this passeth all the rest." [1]

These words contain the justification of some passages in the *Tortura* that seem exaggerated and over vehement in tone. What to the world seemed no more than a pressing political peril, was by Andrewes chiefly regarded in its religious light as a portentous example of hypocrisy.

[1] Vol. iv. pp. 213, 214.

CHAPTER V

PUBLIC LIFE—LAST YEARS AND DEATH

As we have noticed, Andrewes had none of that aptitude for business and love of management which to Laud was so congenial. There were, however, occasions which brought him out, and no sketch of his life would be complete without some special reference to the more critical incidents of his tranquil career.

Perhaps the most important social event which occurred while Andrewes was bishop of Ely was the affair of the Essex divorce in 1613. This was one of those rare occasions which test the weak places of character, and sometimes mark the turning-point of a life. Unfortunately, we know so little of the motives which determined the bishop's conduct, and of the way in which the case presented itself to his mind, that it is impossible to give a satisfactory account of the proceeding. It is difficult to explain what seems on the surface to be an unhappy lapse in a blameless and beautiful career. The difficulty is increased by the fact that no record remains to show that Andrewes felt distress or compunction at the part he had played. Yet we might have been led to expect this by the conduct of Laud under somewhat

similar circumstances.[1] We are forced to the conclusion that there are some circumstances in the case unknown to us, which seemed to Andrewes sufficient to justify the course he eventually took. The facts of the case may be briefly recalled.

The earl of Essex had been married in 1606, at the age of fourteen, to the younger daughter of the earl of Suffolk. During her husband's prolonged absence abroad, Lady Essex had attracted the notice of the king's favourite, Robert Carr; and, soon after the earl's return, according probably to an arrangement already made with Carr, she applied for a divorce. The king displayed unseemly eagerness on behalf of the countess. A commission was appointed for the trial of the case, consisting of the primate (Abbot), bishops King, Andrewes, and Neale, and six laymen, three of whom were legal dignitaries. From the first, Abbot was dissatisfied with the statements of Lady Essex, and resolutely opposed her application for a divorce. He would have preferred that even at this stage there should be a reconciliation between the parties. After sitting for some time, the commission found itself divided in opinion. The archbishop appealed to the king to release him from a position which was intolerable to his rigid conscientiousness. Ultimately, James, under the combined influence of Carr and the family of Lady Essex, resolved to add to the commission two bishops on whom he could rely as supporting his view of the case — Buckeridge of Rochester, and Bilson of Winchester. At the final meeting of the commission

[1] See the references in Laud's Diary to his share in bringing about the marriage of the earl of Devonshire with the divorced Lady Rich.

(September 25, 1613), seven members voted for the divorce; five, headed by the archbishop, dissented. By express command of the king, no reasons were given beyond the one originally pleaded by the countess: *latens et incurabile impedimentum.*

On this disgraceful case, as it appears to us, public opinion was strongly expressed: the courage and uprightness of Abbot gave him a transient popularity. Bilson came in for a main share of the ridicule and opprobrium. But how are we to estimate the course adopted by Andrewes? Before the sittings of the commission he had pronounced decisively, and even vehemently, against the divorce; but soon after taking his seat he changed his view. It was noted that, in spite of his deep knowledge of canon law, he remained silent during the whole course of the proceedings. No utterance that might have explained his conduct is recorded. It would seem, in default of further light on the subject, that he was unable to resist the pressure of the king. He may have feared that the countess, if her design was thwarted, would make some attempt on her husband's life. But this suggestion does not avail to palliate the sacrifice of an obvious religious duty to expediency.

Perhaps the most equitable view of Andrewes' conduct is that of professor Gardiner. "Against such a man," he says, "it is impossible to receive anything short of direct evidence; and it is better to suppose that he was by some process of reasoning, with which we are unacquainted, satisfied with the evidence adduced, though he must have felt that there was that in the conduct of Lady Essex which prevented

him from regarding the result of the trial with any degree of satisfaction."[1] It is only too probable, as Mr. Russell points out,[2] that the conduct of the episcopal assessors in this case "tended to confirm in their disaffection to the Church such of the laity as were inclined to be Puritans, and was a great stumbling-block in the way of the more thoughtless and irreligious of the courtiers."

The next prominent event in which Andrewes figures took place in 1617, when, together with Laud, now dean of Gloucester, and Hall, dean of Worcester, he accompanied the king on his long-projected visit to Scotland, the real aim of which was to force upon the Scotch the English ecclesiastical system. Episcopacy had been already established. In October 1610, Andrewes had, after some hesitation, assisted at the consecration of three prelates, Spottiswoode, Hamilton, and Lamb. He had, indeed, felt uneasy as to the previous ordination of the three divines, which had been performed by presbyterians. It is not quite certain whether Bancroft insisted that ordination by presbyters was in case of necessity lawful, or whether he held episcopal consecration to

[1] Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 174. Dean Church takes a more decided view: "In those troubled days, when men were reaping the penalties of the sin of many generations, and when the rebound from superstitious submission to the pope had created the superstitious faith in the divine right of kings as the only counterpoise to it, there seemed to be a fate which, in the course of a churchman's life, exacted at one time or other the tribute of some unworthy compliance with the caprice or the passions of power; and the superstition must have been a strong one which could exact it from such a man as Andrewes to such a man as James" (*Masters in English Theology*, pp. 69, 70).

[2] *Life of Bishop Andrewes*, p. 380.

include the minor orders.[1] At any rate, Andrewes was satisfied with the archbishop's view, and took part in the consecration. The king now desired to introduce into Scotland the Anglican rite, and the jurisdiction of the High Commission Court. After some preparations in 1616, which betrayed his purpose and drew an expostulation from the Scotch prelates, James arrived at Edinburgh on May 16, 1617, and on the following day divine service was held after the Anglican fashion in Holyrood Chapel. Not satisfied with this display, James ordered that all bishops, nobles, and privy councillors should receive the sacrament kneeling on Whitsunday.[2] The order was only partially successful, but was repeated with more effect. On June 17 the king opened the Scottish parliament with one of his offensive speeches. He referred to his countrymen as "a barbarous people." He advised them to adopt the good customs of their southern neighbours. The parliament deeply resented the tone of this address, and proved refractory. The act which was first proposed was withdrawn, but only to make way for a high-handed declaration of the absolute right of the crown in matters of church government. The clergy were required to assent to five articles insisting on the practice of kneeling at communion, episcopal confirmation, observance of great festivals, private baptism, and communion of the sick.

James returned to England bent on enforcing these articles, and left them to be discussed at an assembly

[1] See Heylin, quoted in Bliss, *Andrewes' Minor Works, Life*, etc., p. xi.

[2] This practice apparently had not as yet received the support of any party in the Scottish Church.

which was summoned to meet at S. Andrews. At this meeting the consideration of four of the articles was postponed. In a subsequent meeting, however, held at Perth (August 1618), the articles were accepted by a large majority, and finally enforced. Throughout these proceedings, while the clergy as a body were recalcitrant, and only yielded to threats, the laity were not averse to change. "The powerful aristocracy, the lawyers, and part at least of the growing middle class, had been alienated by the harsh and intolerant spirit of the clerical assemblies now silenced."[1]

We can hardly think that men like Andrewes and Hall were in sympathy with the harsh coercive policy of the king, whatever may have been the case with Laud. Andrewes preached one of his beautiful sermons[2] on the Holy Spirit before the court on Whitsunday, and possibly makes some reference to the task which the king had set himself, when he dwells on the guilt of assuming the ministry without a commission received. He also speaks strongly of the necessity of studying the usage of the ancient Church. In the ancient fathers and lights of the Church, he says, "the scent of this ointment was fresh and the temper true; on whose writings it lieth thick, and we thence strike it off and gather it safely." The keynote of the sermon is "Unction, Mission, Submission," as the essentials of a duly-ordained

[1] Gardiner, iii. 220. "On the other hand, it is fair to remember that Scotland owed to the boldness of the clergy much of its immunity from popish plots and civil despotism" (Russell, *Life of Andrewes*, p. 157).

[2] On S. Luke iv. 18, 19 (vol. iii. p. 280).

ministry. We are led to think that in regard to the king's policy in this and other matters, Andrewes fell back on a maxim which meets us more than once in his writings—*Aliud est quod docemus; aliud quod sustinemus.*

Another noticeable occurrence in Andrewes' career was the misfortune that befell archbishop Abbot in October 1621.

The archbishop was fond of hunting, and once, when pursuing this pastime in the park of his friend, Lord Zouch, in aiming at a buck with a cross-bow, he struck a gamekeeper, who died of the wound. The incident was startling and without precedent. By common law the archbishop had incurred the forfeiture of all his goods to the king; but James, indulgent to his favourite sport, remarked, on hearing of the mishap, that "an angel might have miscarried in that sort," and followed up the observation by sending a consolatory letter to the primate. In canon law, however—and this was an age in which Canonists and Schoolmen were still diligently studied—the case was a serious one. The archbishop was *ipso facto* irregular, and suspended from all ecclesiastical functions until restored by some ecclesiastical superior. The lord keeper (Williams) was probably sincere in raising difficulties. "I wish with all my heart," he wrote to Buckingham, "his majestie would be as merciful as ever he was in all his life; but yet I hold it my duty to let his majestie know by your lordship that his majestie is fallen upon a matter of great advice and deliberation. To add affliction to the afflicted, as no doubt he is in mynde, is against the king's nature; to leave *virum sanguinum*, or a man of blood, primate

and patriarke of all his churches, is a thinge that soundeth very harshe in the old councells and canons of the Church. The papists will not fail to descant upon the one and the other. I leave the knot to his majestie's deepe wisdom to advise and resolve upon." It was, in fact, a perplexing case, and is even said to have been debated by the doctors of the Sorbonne, who voted it to amount to a full irregularity. Further, Abbot's morose disposition had done little to conciliate his episcopal brethren.[1] Andrewes was summoned to the commission, consisting of six bishops and four laymen, to which the archbishop's case was referred. On the question of irregularity, Andrewes voted with the laymen in favour of the primate. All were agreed that restitution might be granted by the king. Finally, the archbishop was "assoiled" by letters under the great seal, and released from canonical disabilities. Fuller points out that "the party whom the archbishop suspected his greatest foe proved his most firm and effectual friend." Andrewes had little in common with Abbot, and differed from him widely in feeling and policy. But on this occasion he used all his influence on the archbishop's behalf. "Brethren," he said to the other bishops who were pressing the severe view, "be not too busy to condemn any for uncanonicals according to the strictness thereof, lest we render ourselves in the same condition. Besides, we all know

[1] "He was painful, stout, severe against bad manners, of a grave and a voluble eloquence, very hospitable, fervent against the Roman Church, and no less so against the Arminians. . . . He was wont to dissent from the king as often as any man at the council board" (Hacket, *Life of Williams*, p. 68).

canones qui dicunt lapsos post actam poenitentiam ad clericatum non esse restituendos, de rigore loquuntur disciplinae, non injiciunt desperationem indulgentiae." [1] Andrewes' conduct seems to have been dictated, not, as Heylin has suggested, by any fears of Williams' succeeding to the primacy, but by the goodness of his own heart. It is noticeable that he took a view which the more scrupulous mind of Laud was unable to follow. Both he and Williams implored the king that they might not wound their consciences by accepting consecration [2] at Abbot's hands, a request to which the king yielded. We are struck by the Christian sense and magnanimous simplicity of Andrewes' conduct. It was characteristic of him that he always found a rigorist policy uncongenial.

The bishop's position involved him in other encounters besides those with Roman controversialists. Two of his speeches in the Star Chamber are preserved —one, delivered in 1619, relating to the case of John Traske, who had been teaching for some time a curious system of revived Judaism.[3] The speech of Andrewes is rather a heavy piece of artillery to bring to bear on a pitiful fanaticism. Traske was severely dealt with, but finally recanted. The other speech, "concerning vows," relates to the case of the countess of Shrewsbury,[4] who had obstinately refused to make any answer to the lords of the Council respecting the

[1] Fuller, x. 5 and 16.

[2] Laud was bishop-elect of S. David's, Williams elect of Lincoln.

[3] Whether Traske was ordained or not, is uncertain. He taught the strict observance of the Jewish Sabbath, abstinence from swine's flesh, etc.; and even claimed to bestow the gift of the Holy Ghost; see Bliss, *Andrewes' Minor Works, Life*, etc., p. 81.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 95.

marriage of her niece, Lady Arabella Stuart, and had in the last resort alleged that she had a vow upon her. These speeches are marked by the same conscientious thoroughness and pointed exactness which appear in the sermons. The last mentioned of the two displays the strong sense of moral proportion that is characteristic of Andrewes' controversial writings. He quotes Amos v. 24, "Let *judyment* run down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream," and then applies the text to the conduct of the countess. "You stop the course of *justice*," he says; "with this vow of yours it cannot 'run.' Let *justice* have her course, and let that be the breaking-off of your *vow*. If you will needs have it a vow, let it be but the Nazarite's vow, but for a time; let it expire, it is more than time it so did."[1]

In 1622 the bishop's health began to show symptoms of failing. He preached in that year before the court (August 5), but not with his former vigour. "His voice," writes Chamberlain, "grows very low, but otherwise he did extraordinary well, and like himself. I dined with him that day, and could not leave him till half an hour after five o'clock. The weather was so very hot, and he so faint and wet, that he was fain to go to bed for some little time after he came out of the pulpit."[2] He recovered, however, soon enough to permit of his welcoming the king at Farnham later in the same month. James had once before paid the bishop a passing visit (August 1620); but on this later occasion he made a stay of several days, and was magnificently entertained, at a cost to Andrewes of some £3000.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 105. [2] Chamberlain to Carleton, August 10, 1622.

During the next year (1623) the bishop took his usual part in affairs. One matter in which he was concerned throws light on the relations then existing between Rome and England. On March 30, we find the bishop, together with the archbishop and three other prelates, sitting on a commission appointed to deal with the case of Antony de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, in the state of Venice. This ecclesiastic had come to England in 1616, having left Italy in consequence of a personal grievance against the pope Paul V. He had made overtures to the English ambassador at Venice as to the possibility of his joining the English Church. In England he was not unnaturally welcomed by the bishops, and was entertained at Lambeth. A contribution of £600 was raised for his maintenance by agreement among the bishops. He was flattered and made much of, and was even allowed to take part in ecclesiastical functions.[1] But his restless and avaricious temper led him into intrigue. He made overtures to the Roman curia without the king's knowledge, and received an offer of a large sum if he would return to the communion he had abandoned. It was the discovery of these secret negotiations that led to the appointment of a commission. Ultimately, de Dominis was ordered in the king's name to leave the kingdom within twenty days, and never to return. Probably Andrewes never trusted this specious convert, whose impressionable

[1] *E.g.*, a consecration of bishops, December 14, 1617. Bacon records the anecdote: 'The lord bishop Andrewes was asked at the first coming over of the archbishop whether he were a Protestant or no? He answered, 'Truly I know not, but I think he is a *Detestant*' (that was of most of the opinions of Rome)" (Bliss, p. liv.; cf. Perry, *English Church History*, vol. ii. p. 401).

but unstable character made his adhesion rather a source of weakness than strength to the English Church.

1623 was a year of great public anxiety as to the probable issue of the king's negotiations with Spain. In July, Andrewes took part in the ceremony already alluded to—the swearing of the king to the articles of the projected Spanish match. It fell to the bishop's lot to administer the oath, which the king took on his knees in the presence of the ambassadors. It was in the autumn of this year that the interview between Andrewes, Neale, Laud, and Matthew Wren took place, of which an account has been already given.[1] During 1624 he appears to have been less able to discharge his public duties, and in the course of the year he became very much out of health. He suffered from severe pain in his left side, and complete loss of appetite. A brief interval of restored vigour followed; but early in 1625 a fresh attack of illness prevented him from attending the king in his last sickness, and gratifying James' wish to receive the sacrament at his hands. The death of the king, which took place on Mid Lent Sunday, March 27, 1625, could not fail to affect Andrewes' position at court. Charles' accession brought Laud at once to the front, who, however, in spite of his independent spirit, and the fact that he was virtually the leading spirit of the Church, showed an evident desire to maintain close connections with Andrewes. A few days after James' death, we find him consulting the bishop, and evidently setting much store by his view of affairs. In June the two prelates met near Bromley, at the country seat of

[1] See p. 51.

bishop Buckeridge, and within a few months of Andrewes' death they served together on various commissions.

But Andrewes felt that his work was over. He took his part in business of state with increasing difficulty, and in November 1625 was again lying on a sick-bed. He writes to secretary Conway a pathetic letter on the subject of an office in his own gift—that of confessor to the royal household. He pleads that the present occupant of the place, who is incapacitated by ill-health, may continue to hold the office till his death.[1] "I beseech your lordship," he continues, "to bear with me, and to support this very imperfect manner of writing, who hath been under the hand of God sick of an ague these seven weeks, for the most part forced to keep my bed, where your letter found me." On December 8 he excuses himself from obeying an order of Council, and asks for respite. "My lords, I would my body were to my mind, and wish with all my heart that for the present state of my health I were as able to perform this service as I shall ever be found willing to obey and to execute any of his majesty's commands, or your lordship's letters, to the uttermost of my endeavours. But at this present, God hath laid upon me the ague, the stone, and the gout all at once."

There is, however, one other matter of political importance in which Andrewes was concerned. At the beginning of 1626 we find him taking part in an inquiry into complaints which the House of Commons had preferred against Richard Montague,

[1] It would seem that Andrewes' patronage was threatened with invasion, under sanction of the king.

rector of Stamford Rivers, who, in 1624, had scandalised Puritan feeling by his tract, "A New Gag for an Old Goose," written in answer to a Jesuit pamphlet attacking the English Church, entitled "A New Gag for an Old Gospel."

This book provoked a protest from two Ipswich ministers, Samuel Ward and John Yates, to whom the writer replied by addressing an appeal to the king (*Appello Cæsarem, a Just Appeal from Two Unjust Informers*). The case was brought under the notice of the House of Commons before the close of the late reign. The main offence of Montague in the eyes of the Commons was that he had made admissions in favour of the Roman Church, while claiming an equal catholicity for the Church of England. "Although," he said, "this present Roman Church hath departed in no small degree, not only in regard of purity of manners and discipline, but also in regard of uncorruptness in doctrine, from that antient Church whence it arose and was derived, yet it hath ever stood firm upon the same foundation of doctrine and of the sacraments instituted by God, and recognises and keeps communion with the antient and undoubted Church of Christ. Wherefore it cannot be another and a different Church from that, however unlike it in many respects."[1] Such language ran counter to the prejudices of the popular theology which was so strongly represented in the House of Commons. The case was, however, left to be dealt with as an ecclesiastical offence, and the archbishop (Abbot) was asked to admonish the offender; but Montague relied on the favour of the king, who,

[1] Quoted by Russell, *Life of Andrewes*, p. 516; cp. Wakeman, *The Church and the Puritans*, p. 113 foll.

naturally regarded with approval a line of argument which experience had shown to be so effective in dealing with the Roman controversialists. The new reign had scarcely opened before the Commons renewed the attack. A parliamentary committee was appointed to examine Montague's opinions; he was further charged with having committed a breach of privilege, in publishing a second work while the inquiry into the first was still pending. At this point King Charles unwisely interfered, and claimed the cognisance of Montague's offence as a chaplain of his own. In this course he was supported by Laud and other prominent churchmen, who indignantly resented the claim of parliament to decide a matter which involved points of doctrine. They were, moreover, genuinely anxious to leave defenders of the Anglican position, like Montague, a free hand. "We have some cause," so they had written to Buckingham in the preceding year, "to doubt this may breed a great backwardness in able men to write in the defence of the Church of England against either home or foreign adversaries, if they shall see him (Mr. Montague) sink in fortune, reputation, or health, upon his book occasion."[1] The king resolved to refer the matter to a small commission of bishops, and to follow their guidance. The bishops met at Winchester House, probably owing to Andrewes' infirm state, and reported (January 16, 1626) as follows:

"Mr. Montague in his book hath not affirmed anything to be the doctrine of the Church of England but that which in our opinion is the doctrine of the Church of England, or agreeable thereunto. And for the preservation of the peace of the Church, we, in

[1] Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 5.

humility, do conceive that his majesty shall do most graciously to prohibit all parties, members of the Church of England, any further controversy of those questions, by public preaching or writing or any other way, to the disturbance of the peace of the Church, for the time to come."[1]

In this letter we can detect the influence of Andrewes, and the suggestion made is characteristic of him; but unhappily this summary treatment of the case was not calculated to conciliate the Commons, nor did the matter rest at this point. The king's final response to the complaints of parliament was the elevation of Montague to the bishopric of Chichester (1628). This act of defiance was probably suggested by Laud, and was destined to bear bitter fruit; but before the promotion took place, Andrewes had been removed from the scene. On February 2nd of this year (1626), he was able to take official part in the coronation of Charles, and this seems to have been his last attendance at a public ceremony. The lustre of the coronation was dimmed by presages and omens of impending disaster. The dean (Williams) was in disgrace, and Laud, as a prebendary of Westminster, was appointed to take his place. The king appeared in white satin instead of the usual robe of purple. "The left wing of the dove was broken on the sceptre staff." The text of the sermon, preached by the bishop of Carlisle, was "as if for a funeral sermon, 'I will give thee a crown of life,' and a slight shock of earthquake was felt during the ceremony."[2] It would be interesting to know the impression of the event left on

[1] Russell, *Life*, etc., p. 512.

[2] Stanley, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 89 foll.

Andrewes' mind. Laud had already had forebodings of "a cloud arising and threatening the Church of England." We naturally wonder whether at this late hour of his life, Andrewes recognised the mistake that the English Church had made in leaning so heavily on a system of government which had outlived the sympathies of the English people, and had brought both Church and Throne into disrepute and odium. We cannot claim for Andrewes that he possessed the firmness of character that might have made him a wise upholder and counsellor of royalty in the crisis of its fate. We seem to see in him an increasing tendency to compliance with the arbitrary will, and even the caprices of the sovereign. Occasions were constantly arising when a man of stronger mould might have spoken a courageous word in season; might have made a timely protest against evils, the pressure of which on the people was rapidly becoming intolerable. The gentleness of Andrewes too often degenerates into weakness, or at least the temper of indulgence; and we must acknowledge that in his degree he shares the responsibility of the knot of time-servers, flatterers, and worldlings who surrounded the throne, and hindered the intrusion into the royal presence of unpalatable facts — national discontent, the grievances of outraged conscience, and the rising passion and righteous jealousy for liberty and law.

Andrewes must have fallen ill again shortly after the date of the coronation, for in May he is described in a letter of Mede's as being "very ill, and hath long been sick." There are but few notices of the last few months. Isaacson tells us that "of his death he seemed to presage himself a year before he died;"

and in a previous illness at Downham, in 1612, "he seemed to be prepared for his dissolution, saying oftentimes in that sickness, "It must come once, and why not here?" The death of his two brothers, Thomas and Nicholas, which took place shortly before his own, deeply affected him. "He took that as a certain sign and prognostic and warning of his own death, and from that time till the hour of his dissolution he spent all his time in prayer; and his Prayer-Book, when he was private, was seldom seen out of his hands; and in the time of his fever and last sickness, besides the often prayers which were read to him, in which he repeated all the parts of the Confession and other petitions with an audible voice, as long as his strength endured, he did—as was well observed by certain tokens in him—continually pray to himself, though he seemed otherwise to rest or slumber; and when he could pray no longer *voce*—with his voice, yet *oculis et manibus*—by lifting up his eyes and hands he prayed still; and when both voice and eyes and hands failed in their office, then *corde*—with his heart—he still prayed, until it pleased God to receive his blessed soul to Himself."[1] Isaacson describes him as giving vent to "restless groans, sighs, cries, and tears; his hands labouring, his eyes lifted up, and his heart beating and panting to see the living God, even to the last of his breath." The end came on Monday, September 25, 1626, about four o'clock in the morning, at Winchester House, Southwark. On November 11 he was interred with great solemnity in the parish church of S. Saviour; the funeral being arranged and conducted by the officers of the Heralds' College,

[1] Buckeridge, *Funeral Sermon.*

the bishop of Durham being chief mourner, and several of Andrewes' nephews being present. The epitaph[1] on his tomb was written by bishop Wren, formerly his chaplain, to whom the bishop had been a constant benefactor. In 1830, during some alterations to the church, the bishop's tomb was opened, and the coffin discovered in a good state of preservation. It was removed, and replaced in the tomb which was newly erected in the Lady chapel behind the altar screen.

The obituary sermon was preached by bishop Buckeridge of Rochester, on the words, "To do good and to distribute forget not, etc." (Heb. xiii. 16). A fortnight later died Nicholas Felton, bishop of Ely. Each prelate was distinguished by being made the subject of an elegy composed by the youthful Milton, who had recently gone up to Cambridge, and had not as yet developed the strong anti-ecclesiastical opinions of his mature life. Two lines of the boyish production on Andrewes' death are worth quoting, as embodying what was probably the common impression in his old university as to the bishop's career — that it was above all else a life of unsparing toil. The departed soul is met by a heavenly band, and thus addressed—

"Nate, veni, et patrii felix cape gaudia regni;
Semper abhinc duro, nate, labore vaca."[2]

Andrewes himself could not have desired a more terse summary of his long career. In his third sermon on the Passion, he speaks of the lesson taught by our Lord's word, *Consummatum est:* the duty of not fainting "though the time seem long and never so tedious." "Glory and rest," he continues, "are two

[1] See Appendix B.

[2] Another elegy speaks of him as "that rare industrious soul."

things that meet not here in our world. The glorious life hath not the most quiet, and the quiet life is for the most part inglorious. He that will have glory must make account to be despised oft and broken of his rest. Here, then, they meet not; there our hope is, they shall even both meet together, and glory and rest kiss each the other; so the prophet calleth it a glorious rest." Andrewes' toils were for the most part not of his own choosing; but he was resolved that He alone who had appointed him his work should take the burden from his shoulders, and so answer his nightly prayer, "To my weariness vouchsafe Thou rest."

There is a reference to Andrewes' tomb in some beautiful lines of Isaac Williams (*The Cathedral*, p. 183)—

"Still praying in thy sleep
With lifted hands and face supine!
Meet attitude of calm and reverence deep,
Keeping thy marble watch in hallowed shrine.

"Thus in thy Church's need,
Enshrined in ancient liturgies,
Thy spirit shall keep watch and with us plead,
While from our secret cells thy prayers arise.

"Still downward to decay
Our Church is hastening more and more;
But what else need we but with thee to pray
That God may yet her treasures lost restore?"[1]

Nearly sixty years have passed since the writing of the last verse, which reflects the depression of a devout spirit in troubled and dark days. That the words could not be truthfully written now may well lead us to the belief that Andrewes' constant prayer for the English Church has been answered.

[1] "For the British Church, That what is wanting in her may be supplied, that what remains in her may be strengthened" (*The Devotions*).

CHAPTER VI

FRIENDSHIPS AND LITERARY CONNECTIONS

Andrewes was one of the few English theologians whose name was known and respected by foreign scholars. The age of the Stuarts was not one in which English theologians visited in person the universities of the Continent. There seems to have been, after the return of the Marian exiles, a disposition to withdraw from the intimate connections that had been formed between English churchmen and the lights of foreign protestantism. But though continental scholars did not have many opportunities of welcoming English students, it was not uncommon for them to visit England, and they were almost certain to enjoy, sooner or later, a warm reception at the English court—the only court, it has been observed, "where the profession of learned men was in any degree appreciated."[1]

Judged by the standard of those days, Andrewes was a prominent man of learning; the least that can fairly be said of him is, that he was well qualified to judge of learning when he met with it. His own

[1] Pattison, *Life of Casaubon*, p. 296.

habits had always been those of an indefatigable student. He allowed nothing to interfere with regular hours of reading. He refused to see visitors before noon (the dinner hour). When he was intruded upon, he would say "he was afraid he was no true scholar who came to see him before noon." For languages he had an astonishing aptitude, and is said to have had a competent knowledge of fifteen tongues. It is, of course, probable that his knowledge was overrated in days when competent critics were scarce, and we cannot forbear to smile at the verdict of his contemporaries. "The world," says Fuller, "wanted learning to know how learned he was; so skilled in all (especially Oriental) languages, that some conceived he might, if then living, almost have served as an interpreter-general in the confusion of tongues." According to Hacket, he was "of such a growth in all kind of learning, that very able clerks were of a low stature to him: *Colossus inter icunculas.*" [1]

The most solid testimony, however, to the range and depth of Andrewes' attainments, is the respect and veneration with which Casaubon especially, and some other foreign scholars, regarded him. His classical learning was considerable. He was once charged by a Jesuit pamphleteer with having obtained a bishopric by reading Terence and Plautus—a charge against which his friend Casaubon, in his *Epistle to Fronto Ducaeus*, perhaps with needless vehemence defends him. "In the last thirty years he has rarely had Plautus in his hands, Terence never once. Whatever traces of ancient learning are to be found in his

[1] "Scientia magna, memoria major, judicium maximum, industria infinita," is the verdict of Buckeridge (*Funeral Sermon*).

writings are to be set down to his excellent memory."[1] The fact is, that a divine of that period had no ambition to display his classical attainments. The absorbing problems of the time were theological, and on this ground appeal could only be made to the writers of Christian antiquity. Of the Fathers, Canonists, and Schoolmen, Andrewes had a deep and accurate knowledge. These had been his main subject of study during his Cambridge life. But he took an enthusiastic interest in many other departments of learning. His intellectual sympathies were broader, perhaps, than those of any Englishman of his day. He was one of the learned antiquarian circle of which Selden and Camden were distinguished ornaments, and was at one time a member of their society.[2] He had the rare courage to express approval of Selden's *History of Tythes*, an historical inquiry which roused passionate hostility among the dignified clergy, who even induced the king to forbid Selden any right of reply to his critics, and to prohibit the sale of the book.[3] But perhaps even more honourable to him was his friendship with Bacon, with whose aspiring genius and patient toil in observation his own love of nature gave him a genuine sympathy.[4]

Andrewes, then, was a man of learning himself, and had a gift for kindling the love of learning in others. As a young fellow of Pembroke Hall, and afterwards

[1] The authors most frequently alluded to or quoted in the *Responsio* are Terence, Plautus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Lucan, Homer, and Demosthenes.

[2] See his letter to Hartwell, Bliss, p. xli.

[3] Gardiner, *History of England*, vol. iii. pp. 255, 256; Aikin, vol. ii. p. 270; Pattison, *Life of Casaubon*, p. 326.

[4] See the passage from Isaacson, quoted p. 12.

as dean of Westminster, his passion for teaching found ample opportunities. Hacket, an old Westminster boy, used to tell his patron Williams "how strict that excellent man (Andrewes) was to charge our masters that they should give us lessons out of none but the most classical authors; that he did often supply the place both of head schoolmaster and usher for the space of an whole week together, and gave us not an hour of loitering time from morning to night. How he caused our exercises in prose and verse to be brought to him to examine our style and proficiency. That he never walked to Chiswick for his recreation without a brace of this young fry, and in that wayfaring leisure had a singular dexterity to fill those narrow vessels with a funnel." Occasionally the dean would send for the elder scholars, sometimes as often as three times a week, and would keep them from eight in the evening to eleven, teaching them Greek and the elements of Hebrew, and "all this he did without any compulsion of correction; nay, I never heard him utter so much as a word of austerity among us."[1] At a later time his position enabled him to become a generous patron of learning. He befriended rising scholars, and encouraged their studies by his munificence. Bishop Wren speaks gratefully of Andrewes' interest in him at Pembroke. Laud, Peter Blois, Nicholas Fuller, Roger Fenton, Cosin, and others, were indebted to him. He sent the Oriental scholar, William Bedwell, afterwards one of the translators of the Bible, to Leyden at his own cost to study Arabic, and afterwards gave him a living.[2] To John Boys, the learned

[1] Hacket, *Life of Williams* (ed. 1693), p. 45.

[2] Casaubon, in introducing Bedwell to Heinsius, says: "His only cause

student of the Vulgate, he assigned a stall at Ely.[1] His generosity to foreigners was unequalled. Casaubon was his attached friend and sincere admirer; Voss, Junius, Clüver, Du Moulin, Grotius corresponded with him, and in some instances were indebted to his bounty.

For the history of Andrewes' tender and beautiful friendship with Casaubon, we have ample materials. Their intimacy lasted without break for the last four years of the great French scholar's life. Casaubon reached England in October 1610, shortly after the assassination of his patron, Henry IV. He had already been fascinated by the unusual spectacle of a Church which, in its controversy with Rome, resolutely carried its appeal to the fountain-head of church antiquity. He accordingly accepted the invitation of archbishop Bancroft, who had offered him a prebendal stall at Canterbury, and eagerly availed himself of the opportunity thus offered to study more intimately the system and theory of the English Church.

Casaubon, on his arrival, was kindly welcomed by Overall, dean of S. Paul's, and was before long summoned to court, where he met Andrewes. He was at once attracted to the bishop, not only by his erudition and personal charm, but also by the sense of common sympathies and tastes. As early as October 26, he notes in his diary a prolonged visit to "the most wise

for undertaking this journey is the exhortation of the bishop of Ely (τοῦ πάνυ Eliensis), who is anxious to spare no expense in forwarding the interests of learning."

[1] It was under Andrewes' direction that Boys compiled the *Veteri interpretis cum Beza collatio*, published 1655 (Bliss).

and learned bishop of Ely;" and adds, "I acknowledged his extraordinary courtesy and kindness towards me." From that day forwards the diary constantly refers to Andrewes—his learning, his acuteness, his goodness, his courtesy.[1] "He is a man," he writes to his friend de Thou, "whom if you knew you would take to exceedingly; we spend whole days in talk of literature —sacred, especially—and no words can express what true piety, what uprightness of judgment, I find in him." "I am attracted to the man," he says to Heinsius, "by his profound learning, and am charmed by a graciousness of manner not common in one so highly placed."

Soon after Casaubon's arrival (November 1610), the bishop submitted to him the *Responsio*, which was approaching completion, and adopted some of the great scholar's suggestions. "He did not overlook my notes," says Casaubon; "nay, he rated them at more than their worth." Casaubon's mature impression of Andrewes' work is given in a letter to bishop Montague (November 21, 1610), which it is worth while to quote:—

"I have read, and am daily reading, a work in which sincere piety, combined with varied learning, so contends for mastery with a captivating elegance of style, that I find it difficult to say what is to be selected for praise and admiration. Unhappy cardinal! thus in effete old age to have encountered an antagonist who, in range of genius, in depth of erudition, in faculty of expression, is at the very zenith of his powers, and in

[1] *E.g.* Dec. 1610. "Apud episcopum Eliensem pransus totum fere diem cum illo egi. O doctum! O humanum virum!" Another entry in 1611 says, "O Domine, quantae doctrinae, quanta humanitatis hospitem sum nactus!"

all qualities requisite for this kind of controversy is so vastly superior to his rival. Certainly, if the cardinal retains a spark of modesty, he will not, I think, ever venture to enter the lists with this adversary; assuredly he will find that he is *impar congressus Achilli*. Pray let his majesty know that I have dealt in this affair as becomes a truth-loving and candid scholar; for, though I esteem the bishop of Ely so highly, and have such an immense admiration for him, I have read all that he has written, and carefully weighed it, as though I owed no favour to the writer. . . . Would, my lord, that our Gallican theologians would imitate the bishop of Ely. I dare to affirm that they would reap a most plentiful reward of their moderation."

But Casaubon himself was soon immersed in the waves of controversy. At the king's wish he undertook his *Epistle to Fronto Ducacus*,[1] in which he examines at length the history of the plot of 1605. In this letter he takes occasion to vindicate Andrewes warmly against the attacks of Eudaemon Johannes (the Jesuit l'Heureux).[2] Shortly after the letter was finished (July 1611), Andrewes carried Casaubon off to his manor at Downham, in Ely diocese, where he was usually engaged in pastoral work for three months during the summer. For about six weeks Casaubon stayed with the bishop, and greatly enjoyed his experience of English country life and manners. He accompanied the bishop in his progress through the diocese,[3] and was particularly impressed by the simplicity and dignity of the

[1] *Epist.* 730.

[2] He refers to the bishop as one "de cuius alta doctrina in omni genere disciplinarum quicquid dixero minus erit."

[3] On one occasion, crossing a ford near Wisbeach, the bishop's life was in danger.

English services. In the following year (August 1612), the bishop writes to Casaubon, now busy with the *Exercitationes in Baronium*, begging him to pay another visit to Downham, which he says is so much cooler than London, as a proof of this declaring that he is suffering from a fever contracted in consequence of "an evening chill." In this letter he begs Casaubon not to spend too much time on chronological *minutiae*, but to devote his attention to more important matters; he urges him not to be distracted by the attacks of petty controversial literature from his great task of dealing with Baronius, and "shedding a true light on sacred history." "Suffer not yourself to be distracted even for a moment; spurn them out of your way like barking dogs, and pass them by; pursue the course you have entered on with the favour of God and men." After mentioning his own correspondence with du Moulin, and his weariness of controversy, he ends by again pressing Casaubon to come and see the Stourbridge fair—*nundinas tota Anglia celeberrimas*; tries to tempt him with a MS. (*S. Matthaei exemplar hebraicum quod hic asservatur in bibliotheca Corp. Christi*); implores him to come if only for a few days; he shall return to town when he pleases. A little later (September 8, 1612) we find him, in another letter, repeating his injunction to Casaubon not to be drawn aside from his purpose. Let him in a single preface crush Puteanus[1] and all the other assailants; let him spend all his efforts, all his diligence and learning, on a work of real value to the Church. "I am sure," he says, "I shall find infinite pleasure in reading what you write; though old, I shall learn much.

[1] Erycius Puteanus, author of *Stricturae in Casaubonum*.

I shall owe to you the reminiscence of many things I have forgotten, the knowledge of many which I have overlooked."

On several occasions in 1613 the friends were together. In April, Casaubon introduced Grotius to Andrewes.

On May 1, 1614, Casaubon's son Meric was confirmed by Andrewes, and with his father received the sacrament at the bishop's hands. Two months later, Andrewes attended the death-bed of his friend, an occasion of which he writes an account to Heinsius. After courteously offering hospitality to him during his projected visit to England, he tells him the circumstances of Casaubon's death. "He died on Friday, July 1 (old style). That morning he received the Holy Eucharist at my hands, having begged this favour of me three days previously. After receiving, he asked that the *Nunc Dimittis* might be repeated, following the recitation with a low voice, not without effort. Nothing escaped him but what was religious, pious, worthy of a Christian man, and of Casaubon, not even while he was in greatest agony. Next he gave his blessing to his children and his whole household. Then he composed himself to sleep, and thenceforward said but little, and that unwillingly. About four hours later he rendered to God a spirit which, I doubt not, found acceptance, a spirit always devoted to the cause of truth and peace. Stop the mouth of that pestilent Jesuit,[1] who does not scruple even after Casaubon's death to lie, as if he had wavered in the faith. He (Casaubon) never at any time wavered. He died in the faith in which he was born

[1] Heribert Rosweyd, who had circulated a rumour that Casaubon had promised to rejoin the Roman Church.

and brought up. For ten days before his death he had said farewell to human affairs, had signed his will, and gave himself wholly up to God, and to heaven. . . . He is buried at Westminster before the chapel where our kings' monuments are visited." Such was the fitting close to a friendship of more than usual tenderness.[1]

Other distinguished men to whom Andrewes showed kindness, were F. Junius and George Doublet, both kinsmen of G. T. Voss. He entertained them hospitably at Farnham in 1621. Gerard Voss, at this time director of the theological college at Leyden, was a scholar of the bishop's own mould; a man with a rooted distaste for controversy, and so moderate in views and temper as to become suspected of heterodoxy by the vehement controversalists of his university. His kinsman, F. Junius, came to England in 1620, his special line of study being Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic philology. Voss writes with great gratitude to the bishop (Oct. 25, 1621): "I have often heard from Junius; no letter but speaks in high terms of his happiness in being acquainted with you—a man endowed with so many gifts, so kindly disposed towards him, so concerned for his welfare, that he can only speak of your regard for him as paternal. It is, moreover, a delight to me to hear from him and G. Doublet of your very kind disposition towards me. To me your regard is preferable to gold. . . . The habit of beneficence is with you a second nature."[2] Again (Sept. 13, 1622) he writes: "Junius con-

[1] Casaubon, in one passage of his diary, says: "Reddat illi (Eliensi) Deus suam erga me φιλανθρωπίαν." It is interesting to note that Andrewes in his devotions makes special mention of "foreigners," a circumstance possibly suggested by his intimate connection with Casaubon.

[2] Voss, *Epist.* xx.

tinues to speak of your fatherly love to him. We can only acknowledge a debt which we cannot repay. God will reward you. I can only say—

> Serus in caelum *venias* diuque
> Laetus intersis populo *Britanno*."[1]

In the following year (June 9, 1623), Voss writes to condole with Andrewes on the premature death of Philip Clüver the geographer, and commends to the bishop's kindness the grandmother of Clüver's children,[2] who was an Englishwoman by birth. Other scholars with whom the bishop was on friendly terms were Daniel Heinsius,[3] to whom he wrote the account of Casaubon's last hours; Erpenius (Van Erpe), professor of Oriental literature at Leyden, whom he endeavoured by the offer of an annual stipend to attract to England as a teacher of Oriental literature; and Grotius, who in 1613 came to England on a mission, partly political, partly religious, and was introduced to Andrewes by Casaubon. On one occasion Andrewes entertained Grotius at supper, his visitor astonishing the other guests by his flow of conversation: "my lord of Ely sitting still at the supper all the while and wondering what a man he had there, who, not being in the place or company before, could overwhelm them so with talk for so long a time."[4] In 1617 some correspondence passed between Overall and Grotius, which shows the anxiety of Grotius to obtain Andrewes' opinion of his work, *De imperio summarum potestatum in sacra*.[5]

[1] *Epist.* xxvi. [2] *Epist.* xxxvii.

[3] Professor of Latin (1602) and Greek (1605) at Leyden.

[4] Abbot to Winwood, June 1, 1613 (*Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*, vol. i. p. 269).

[5] "Ad rev. Episcopum Eliensem scribo, rogo ut librum de jure imperii legat et emendet, conscio etiam rege." The book was not published till 1647. Some account of it is given in Russell, *Life of Andrewes*, p. 438 foll.

Andrewes seems never to have found time to study the book carefully; but his impression, as reported by Overall, was that the conclusions of Grotius involved a dangerous extension of the power of the State in the spiritual sphere.[1]

There are other names contained in the list of Andrewes' friends which are of special interest. With Bacon he must have often been brought in contact by the official duties of his station, for Bacon was solicitor-general in 1607, attorney-general in 1613, and became chancellor in the very year of Andrewes' translation to Winchester (1618). In 1621, as we have already noticed, Andrewes was one of the peers whose painful duty it was to wait on Bacon after his disgrace, and obtain from him the oral acknowledgment of his written confession. In his hearing the fallen chancellor had made the admission of his guilt: "My lords, it is my act, my hand, my heart. I beseech your lordships be merciful to a broken reed." But the friendship had dated from Bacon's student days. As early as 1605 Bacon describes Andrewes as his "inquisitor,"[2] an expression which is explained in a letter of later date addressed to Andrewes himself. In sending the MS. of the *Cogitata et visa* to the bishop, Bacon writes as follows: "If your lordship be so good now as when you were the good dean of Westminster, my request to you is that not by pricks, but by notes, you would mark unto me whatsoever shall seem unto you either not current in the stile, or harsh to credit or opinion, or inconvenient for the

[1] See Bliss, p. xciii.

[2] In a letter to Toby Matthew; see *Works*, Ellis & Spedding, vol. x. p. 256.

person of the writer; for no man can be judge and party; and when our minds judge by reflexion on ourselves, they are more subject to error."[1] It is most probable that Andrewes had performed a similar service in the case of the *Advancement of Learning*, while he was still dean. In 1608 we find Bacon jotting down a list of prominent persons who might be counted upon as patrons of scientific research and experiment, among them being W. Raleigh, archbishop Bancroft, "being single and glorious [fond of fame]," and bishop Andrewes, "being single, rych, sickly, a professor to some experiments."[2] To Andrewes also is addressed the "Epistle dedicatory" (probably written in 1622) prefixed to Bacon's fragment, *Advertisement touching an Holy War*"—a dialogue dealing with the speculative question as to the duty of fighting for the Christian faith—apparently written in view of the projected alliance with Spain. Possibly Bacon had formed an idea that this unpopular alliance might be utilised for a new crusade against the Turks. One of the characters which he intended to introduce was in all probability suggested by the career of Andrewes—"Eusebius, a moderate divine." "This work," he writes, "because I was ever an enemy to flattering dedications, I have dedicated to your lordship, in respect of our ancient and private acquaintance, and because amongst the men of our times I hold you in especial reverence.—Your lordship's loving friend, FR. ST. ALBAN."[3]

[1] *Works*, vol. x. p. 256.

[2] *Commentarius Solutus*; see *F. Bacon*, by E. A. Abbot, p. 161, note.

[3] "The question naturally presents itself in regard to a friend of bishop

It is enough, as illustrating Andrewes' relations with Hooker, to quote *in extenso* his letter to a friend,[1] dated November 7, 1600, five days after Hooker's death:—

"*Salutem in Christo.* I cannot choose but write, though you do not. I never failed since I last saw you, but daily prayed for him till this very instant you sent this heavy news. I have hitherto prayed *serva nobis hunc;* now must I, *da nobis alium.* Alas, for our great loss! and when I say ours, though I mean yours and mine, yet much more the common: with the less sense they have of so great a damage, the more sad we need to bewail them and ourselves, who know his works and his worth to be such as behind him he hath not (that I know) left any near him. And whether I shall live to know any near him, I am in great doubt, that I care not how many and myself had redeemed his longer life to have done good in a better subject than he had in hand, though that were very good. Good brother, have a care to deal with his executrix or executor, or (him that is like to have a great stroke in it) his father-in-law, that there be special care and regard for preserving such papers as he left, besides the three last books expected. By preserving, I mean, that not only they

Andrewes, What was Bacon as regards religion? And the answer, it seems to me, can admit of no doubt. . . . His religion was the discriminating and intelligent Church of England religion of Hooker and Andrewes, which had gone back to something deeper and nobler in Christianity than the popular Calvinism of the earlier Reformation; and, though sternly hostile to the system of the papacy both on religious and political grounds, attempted to judge it with knowledge and justice" (Church, *Bacon*, pp. 174, 175).

[1] To Dr. Henry Parry (Bliss, p. xl.). The actual extent of Andrewes' intimacy with Hooker is uncertain.

be not embezzled, and come to nothing, but that they come not into great hands, who will only have use of them *quatenus et quousque,* and suppress the rest, or unhappily all; but rather into the hands of some of them that unfeignedly wished him well, though of the meaner sort; who may upon good assurance (very good assurance) be trusted with them; for it is a pity they should admit any limitation. Do this, and do it *mature;* it had been more than time long since to have been about it, if I had sooner known it. If my word or letter would do any good to Mr. Churchman,[1] it should not want. But what cannot yourself or Mr. Sandys do therein? For Mr. Cranmer is away, happy in that he shall gain a week or two before he know of it. Almighty God, comfort us over him! whose taking away I trust I shall no longer live, than with grief I remember; therefore with grief because with inward and most just honour I ever honoured him since I knew him.—Your assured poor loving friend, L. ANDREWES."

There is one other notable name in the circle of Andrewes' friends—that of George Herbert. Herbert entered Westminster school about a year before Andrewes vacated the deanery, and very possibly, as a thoughtful boy of fourteen, would come in contact with the learned and saintly dean. The fact is interesting, and opens an attractive field for conjecture,[2] but it is not certain that the two actually became acquainted at this time. Walton, in his memoir of Herbert, seems to imply that he was in-

[1] Hooker's father-in-law.

[2] See *The Life of George Herbert* (S.P.C.K., 1893), pp. 33–35.

troduced to Andrewes at Cambridge on the occasion of one of the king's visits (probably in 1615), when the bishop accompanied his master. The meeting, whatever be its date, led to an intimate friendship and correspondence between the bishop and the brilliant Cambridge scholar. Herbert writes with filial affection to the bishop, apparently after paying him a visit at Farnham, and shortly after his own appointment as public orator. Walton, referring to the intimacy between the friends, mentions "a modest debate" which took place between them on one occasion on the subject of predestination and sanctity of life; "of both which the orator did, not long after, send the bishop some safe and useful aphorisms in a long letter written in Greek, which was so remarkable for the language and the matter, that, after the reading of it, the bishop put it into his bosom, and did often show it to scholars, both of this and foreign nations; but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so, near his heart, till the last day of his life."[1] Herbert only survived Andrewes by about seven years. An epigram on the bishop, written by the poet, remains to show his gratitude for what he evidently felt to be one of the greatest spiritual blessings of his life.

It is scarcely necessary to say more of Andrewes' friendships. We must remember that he was in constant communication with such men as Overall, Cosin, Hall, and Laud; but there are no specially interesting memorials of his connection with these and other of his contemporaries, and in our brief sketch an allusion to them must suffice.

[1] Walton, *George Herbert's Remains*, pp. 25, 26.

CHAPTER VII

ANDREWES THE PRELATE

We know little of the distinctively episcopal work of bishop Andrewes. His few extant letters make no special mention of pastoral duties, and the standard by which a bishop's work was measured in those days was not that of our own time. It was the personality of the bishop that impressed his contemporaries. "This is that Andrewes," exclaims Hacket, "the ointment of whose name is sweeter than all spices. . . . Indeed, he was the most apostolical and primitive-like divine, in my opinion, that wore a rochet in his age; of a most venerable gravity, and yet most sweet in all commerce; the most devout that ever I saw when he appeared before God; full of alms and charity, of which none knew but his Father in secret. In the pulpit an Homer among preachers. . . . I am transported even as in a rapture to make this digression, for who could come near the shrine of such a saint and not offer up a few grains of glory upon it?"[1]

It is strange, considering the position of dignity which Andrewes held, that he should have made so few enemies. There was something that disarmed

[1] *Life of Williams*, p. 45.

hostility and commanded reverence, in his simplicity, his ascetic habits, his unaffected kindliness, his boundless generosity, his serene cheerfulness, and keen sense of humour. The impression he made was always the same. Hacket calls him a saint, John Chamberlain (a gentleman and scholar, whose letters give us a vivid picture of James' court) refers to him as "the good bishop," and speaks in glowing terms of his "extraordinary kindness," his "wonderful memory" for places and persons; Bacon holds him in "especial reverence;" bishop Hall speaks of him as "the renowned bishop of Winchester, the late admirable, that oracle of our present times, incomparably learned." Casaubon can find no words sufficiently strong to express his admiration and affection; Voss is overcome with gratitude for Andrewes' generosity to his kinsman; George Herbert declares that it had been since boyhood his fixed resolve to attain to that "whiteness of soul" which he revered in the bishop. Indeed, underneath the courtliness and kindliness of an honoured prelate there lay qualities, honourable in any age, but in those days conspicuously rare. Among the crowd of bishops and clergy who were influenced by the Arminian theology, there were many time-servers, sycophants, and self-seekers. In the life of a man like Andrewes, so devoted to his calling, so retiring in manner, so simple in his tastes, the ostentatious, worldly temper felt itself rebuked. It was noted that, while his hospitality was generous and overflowing, so that he was said to have "kept Christmas all the year," his own manner of life was abstemious and austere; he obeyed the disciplinary rules of the Church, and was careful to observe

strictly the Lenten, Embertide, and other fasts. He felt instinctively that if the church system was to win the affections and confidence of the nation, it must display its power to consecrate and exalt character. The primitive Church was his guide, not only in her doctrine, but in the type of life, thought, and discipline which she commended to her children; and it is a redeeming feature of James' court that a character so unworldly, so gentle, so high in aims, so independent, should have commanded a genuine admiration and respect.

Of the aims of Andrewes' episcopate, we can form some estimate from the articles submitted to churchwardens and others before the bishop's primary visitation of the Winchester diocese. In these we are struck by his care for essentials; his regard for the cleanliness, order, and decency of churches and their furniture; for the proper and regular administration of the sacraments; for the due oversight of the sick and poor; above all, for the morals of the people. The bishop is particularly concerned about the character of the clergy. "Whether doth your minister resort to any taverns or alehouses, or doth he board or lodge in any such place? Doth he use any base or servile labour, drinking, riot, dice, cards, tables, or any other unlawful games? Is he contentious, a hunter, hawker, swearer, dancer, usurer, suspected of incontinence, or hath given any evil example of life?"[1] One question is characteristic of the times: "Whether doth your minister in his sermons, four

[1] *Visitation Articles*, No. XXIX. In 1625 is added, "Is he one that plies not his study?"

times a year at least, teach and declare the king's majesty's power within his realms to be the highest power under God, to whom all within the same owe most loyalty and obedience, and that all foreign power is justly taken away?" The standard of discipline required is a high one: the churchwardens are directed to fine those who are absent from church without good cause, and "about the midst of divine service" they are to "walk out of the church and see who are abroad in any alehouse, or elsewhere absent or evil employed," and to present such delinquents to the ordinary. The minister is to keep a note of persons excommunicated, and once every six months to "denounce them which have not received their absolution on some Sunday in service time, that others may be admonished to refrain from their company."

In the articles of 1625, special inquiry is made as to the ministry of reconciliation. "And if any man confess his secret and hidden sins, being sick or whole, to the minister for the unburthening of his conscience and receiving such spiritual consolation; doth, or hath the said minister at any time revealed and made known to any person whatsoever, any crime or offence so committed to his trust and secrecy, contrary to the 113th canon?"[1] Questions are also asked as to the observance of Sunday, behaviour in church, catechising of children, and the remarriage of divorced persons. In 1625 there is an inquiry as to recusants and scandalous persons who have left the parish, and afterwards returned. "Have they

[1] *Article* XVI. (1625). This point is noticeable in connection with the bishop's opinion of the case of Henry Garnet; see p. 67.

done any penance? and what penance?" Persons who have omitted their penance or any part of it are to be presented.

These extracts illustrate the general aims of the bishop. He gave particular attention to the raising of the standard of life and learning among his clergy. He used to make careful inquiries before bestowing patronage. He would send for a likely man, and with thoughtful kindness defray the travelling and other incidental expenses of one whom he had decided to promote. He was noted for his special abhorrence of simony: he refused to admit men to livings "whom he suspected to be simoniacally preferred," and on this account he was content to suffer on several occasions "by suits of law."[1] Of the various occasions on which he ordained there seems to be no account beyond the bare record of the fact.

As is well known, Andrewes, like Laud, had a natural predilection for ritual and outward dignity in worship, though he was too wise to enforce it on others. His visitation articles show that he was satisfied if church ministrations were carried on with reverence and decency. In his own chapel he observed a higher standard. The celebrated account of Prynne,[2] which is illustrated by a plan of Andrewes' private chapel, describes the altar as furnished with two candlesticks and tapers, and a cushion for the service-

[1] Cp. Buckeridge, *Funeral Sermon* (vol. v. p. 296); see also Andrewes' sermon at the Spital on 1 Tim. vi. 17–19 (vol. v. p. 42), in which he speaks of simony as the "sin of sins."

[2] *Canterburie's Doome*, pp. 121–125. Among Laud's papers which fell into the hands of the parliament was one endorsed — "1623, *Chappell and furniture as it was in use by the Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Lord Bishop, then of Winton.*"

book; there was a canister for wafers, a basin for the oblations, a *tricanale* or pot with three pipes for the "water of mixture"; a credence, a basin and ewer "for the polluted priests and prelates to wash in before consecration, and a towel to wipe their unhallowed fingers"; there was also a censer, and a *navicula* for the frankincense. The bishop's seat at the west end was graced with a canopy; and the remaining "Romish furniture" of the chapel comprised five copes, two altar cloths, and a cloth to lay over the chalice wrought with coloured silk called the *aire*. The chalice was engraved with a representation of Christ with the lost sheep on His shoulders, and on the cover was represented the star of the Magi. Isaacson, speaking from personal knowledge, assures us that "the souls of many that *obiter* came thither in time of divine service, were very much elevated, and they stirred up to the like reverend deportment. Yea, some that had been there were so taken with it that they desired to end their days in the bishop of Ely's chapel."[1] The primitive dignity of Andrewes' manner in celebrating the Holy Eucharist is noticed with appreciation by Casaubon.[2] He also gives an account of a service in Ely cathedral on August 5, 1611, the anniversary of the Gowrie conspiracy. The bishop was met at the west door by the chapter; there was a procession, during which psalms were sung by the choir; matins followed, with a sermon from the bishop, and a celebration of the Eucharist.

The impressive form for the consecration of a church, which was drawn up by the bishop, and

[1] Bliss, p. xiii.

[2] *Ibid.* p. lxxxvi.

used in 1620 at the consecration of a chapel near Southampton, was adopted afterwards by Laud, and seems to have been regarded as a model of what such services should be. It is an instance of the independent fearlessness with which Andrewes "threw himself, as an ancient bishop would have done, on his inherent episcopal authority,"[1] to supply a need unprovided for in the English Prayer-Book.

Such was Andrewes in the fulfilment of the more solemn and public functions of his office. It remains to notice two qualities which heighten the impression we have already formed of his character: his tolerance and his munificence.

The standard of tolerance[2] necessarily varies in different periods. In the age of Elizabeth it was a virtue just beginning to appear, and finding noble expression in the literature of her reign—in the poetry of Spenser and Shakespeare, in the prose of Hooker and Bacon. If we contrast the tone of Andrewes with that of the preceding generation of churchmen, we shall be struck by the gentleness and the conciliatory spirit of the bishop's utterances, even in speaking of Puritanism. "The Puritans," he says in the *Responsio*, "have no religion peculiar to themselves, but only a particular form of discipline. They are excessively devoted to their own idea of regimen, but in their doctrine generally are sufficiently orthodox. I am aware that there are some among them of schismatic temper; as regards external form of

[1] Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 99. See *Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine and other Minor Works*, p. 307 foll.

[2] As to the case of Legatt the Arian, see note at the end of the chapter.

government they are Puritans, but not as regards religion, which is and can be one and the same, even where the external form of governance is not identical."[1] "In other things apart from matters of discipline they are right-minded enough, except when they chance to be affected by the dogmas of some strange sect."[2]

The same trait appears in his correspondence with the French protestant, Peter du Moulin—a man towards whom the bishop felt no special attraction.[3] In 1618 he was drawn into a gentle controversy with du Moulin, who had denied the divine institution of episcopacy, and had written to Andrewes informing him that King James had censured certain points in his book, *De la vocation des pasteurs*.[4] Three letters addressed to du Moulin by Andrewes are extant. In the first of these he complains of the inopportuneness of statements about the English Church contained in du Moulin's book. "We are troubled by men who regard episcopacy as a human invention. Your book has given these disturbers of our peace a new handle against us. How I wish," he says, "that you had let our church affairs alone. You might have directed your shafts elsewhere." In this first letter Andrewes states very succinctly the patristic authority

[1] *Responsio*, pp. 161, 162. [2] *Ibid.* p. 486.

[3] "Du Moulin is a man I see through; if I judge him aright, he is anxious for pre-eminence (vult ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχος ἔμμεναι ἄλλων). He has the influence of a siren with the king" (Andrewes to Casaubon, August 23, 1612).

[4] Andrewes complains of the title. "Novitia et sunt *pastoris* (hoc quidem sensu) et *vocationis* nomina; nec nisi postremi hujus sæculi, ac nec illius integri. Nam quis, quæso, veterum sic locutus est unquam? *Ep.* 1 *ad. P. Molin* (*Opusc.* p. 187; ed. Bliss).

for the apostolic origin of episcopacy, claiming for it divine right and scriptural sanction, and indeed the dignity of a divine gift. "May God," he says, "bestow on you the regimen and order He has bestowed on us." He demurs, however, to the suggestion that a right belief on this point is an article of faith (*caput fidei*). Those things which are of divine right are not necessarily articles of faith. These are points relating to the *agenda*, not the *credenda* — the practice, not the faith — of the Church.

To this du Moulin replies, deprecating the consequences of a too rigid theory of episcopacy. "To maintain these would be to consign all our churches to perdition, and especially to pass sentence of damnation on my own flock."

In a second letter Andrewes notices that du Moulin seems strongly inclined to the apostolic (Anglican) system of church order. Du Moulin had admitted in his letter that episcopacy was received in the "apostolic" age, but had erased the word and substituted "sub-apostolic" (*apostolorum proximo*). "That all antiquity," the bishop continues, "is on our side, you do not deny; whether more deference should be paid to a particular church now-a-days than to all antiquity, I leave to your judgment. . . . It is not enough for us that our church polity should not be despised as vicious or faulty. We maintain that our regimen approximates most nearly to the custom of the primitive, or, as you allow, of the *sub-apostolic*, Church, though you had written, and we contend for, the name *apostolic*. Yet it follows not, if our regimen be of divine right, that therefore there is no salvation

without it, or that a church cannot stand. He must be blind who does not see churches standing without it. He must be made of iron who refuses them salvation. We are not of iron mould. . . . It is not utter condemnation of a thing to prefer a better. Something may be lacking which is of divine right in external regimen, yet without loss of salvation. We do not condemn your church, because we would recall it to another form of governance which we have adopted—one which the whole of antiquity preferred." [1]

In a third more elaborate epistle du Moulin explains himself more fully. He notices that the bishop's tone appears somewhat vehement (*paulo commotior*). As regards the main point, he maintains his thesis. What is apostolic is not necessarily divine—*e.g.* the order of deaconesses; the directions as to prophecy in 1 Cor. xiv.; or the apostolic ordinances of Acts xv. 20. It is generally held that the pre-eminence of some bishops in the first age of the Church was enjoyed by them not as bishops, but as evangelists. But du Moulin waives this point. He rather insists that to accept Andrewes' view is to "unchurch" the body to which he belongs. He ends by eagerly vindicating the title of his book. In his final reply, Andrewes declares his intention of being more explicit. Du Moulin's main thesis,[2] though true, was not opportunely disseminated. "I deny that what is true ought in its entirety to be published by any and every man, at any and every time. It may be lawful, but not expedient to do so." As regards

[1] Cp. *Concio in discessu Palatini* (*Opusc. Posthuma*, p. 92).

[2] *I.e.* the fact that "bishop" and "presbyter" were originally convertible terms.

the question of order, Andrewes again insists that bishops and presbyters are distinct orders of clergy. Their functions are different; the imposition of hands is different; the orders were distinguished in their prototype—the apostles and the seventy-two. He shows the irrelevance of the instances which du Moulin had cited of apostolic ordinances which were not divine.

The main point of interest, however, is the bishop's attitude towards a presbyterian community. He speaks with gentleness of the protestant churches. "Something is lacking, I said, from your churches which is of divine right; but I said this was due not to any fault of yours, but to the misfortune of the times. Your country had not kings so well disposed in the reform of the Church as our Britain; when God gives you better days this also that is lacking will perhaps be supplied." "If only the hardened and obstinate heart be absent, there will be no heresy. But even if there be heresy (in matters touching discipline), it will not be found among the 'damnable heresies' (αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας) of which S. Peter speaks."[1]

"Please to pray for me," he concludes, "that whatever span of life remains for me, it may be well spent rather than long in duration. . . . I pray for all blessings on you, and this especially, that venerable antiquity may have more weight with you than any man's modern institution."

One point remains in which Andrewes worthily fulfilled the ideal of a Christian prelate, namely, his splendid munificence: a noble readiness to seek out the promise of ability and to encourage learning was "the characteristic virtue of his time."[2] In this

[1] *Opusc.* p. 212. [2] Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 66.

Andrewes was specially conspicuous. His charities were boundless, and were enlarged as his income increased. He remembered with special affection those to whom he himself owed his own education or advancement. He gave a living to the son of his first schoolmaster (Ward). He not only assisted Mulcaster with sums of money, but also bequeathed a legacy to his son. He took pains to discover the kindred of Dr. Watts,[1] and assisted in his college career the only one of his descendants that he could discover. To his college he left money for the foundation of two fellowships, a number of his best books, and a valuable gift of plate, "as a poore memoriall," he says in his will, "of my dutie and thankful remembrance of that good lady (the foundress of Pembroke) by whose bountie I was so long maintained at my booke there." To his university he was deeply attached, nor did he forget his connection with Oxford "never coming near them (the universities) after he was bishop, but that he sent to be distributed among poor scholars sometimes £100, and over £50 at the least."[2] On one of his visits to Cambridge with the king, being present at the philosophy act, he sent at his departure to four of the disputants forty pieces of gold, to be divided equally among them.

But it was in his secret charities that bishop Andrewes' example was so gracious and so worthy of his position. He was as generous in lending as in giving, and steadily refused to take interest on his loans. Poverty in every form appealed to him. "Large sums

[1] On whose foundation he had entered Pembroke, p. 8.

[2] Isaacson.

he bestowed yearly and oftener in clothing the poor and naked, in relieving the sick and needy, in succouring families in time of infection, besides his alms to poor housekeepers at his gate; insomuch that his private alms in his last six years, beside those public, amounted to the sum of £1300 and upwards."[1] He often made a point of bestowing his charities secretly under other names, a habit which laid him open to misconstruction. A private letter, written after his death, says: "My lord of Winchester, they say, died not worth £12,000, which makes many change their uncharitable conceit of him they had formerly, finding that he gave much to the poor and prisons in London and other good uses, the author not being known till now he is dead."[2]

His will displayed the same thoughtful compassion for the helpless and friendless classes of society: widows, orphans, prisoners, servants, and the aged poor. He made a special provision for those who had led a seafaring life; for "wives of one husband," "poor orphan apprentices," "poor prisoners," "maid-servants of honest report, and who had served one master or mistress seven years;" nor was he forgetful of his own servants. Of his generous kindness to foreigners we have already spoken; and there was yet another class who were special objects of his beneficence—promising young men at the universities needing assistance; "his chaplains and friends receiving a charge from him to certify him what hopeful and towardly young wit they met with at any time, and these till he could better provide for them, were

[1] Isaacson.

[2] Mede; see Birch, *Charles I.* (i. 153).

sure to taste of his bounty and goodness for their better encouragement."[1] It was also part of his public spirit and his unselfish desire to serve the Church, that he expended large sums on the improvement or redemption of estates belonging to the bishopries successively held by him. It was not without ample warrant that it was said of him after his death: "He was like the ark of God; all places where it rested were blessed by the presence of God in it; so, wheresoever he came and lived, they all tasted and were bettered by his providence and goodness."[2]

"Magnificence" is a virtue which has a real place in ethics. We naturally associate the idea with a great and splendid position; but Christianity has taught us where "magnificence" should look for its objects—"When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee."[3] The magnificence of a great prelate is displayed not so much in the sumptuous entertainment of royalty, as in the discriminating love which finds fitting objects of its bounty in the helpless, the lowly, and the forgotten.

Note.—There is some question as to the share Andrewes took in the matter of Legatt's execution (1612). I do not think Mr. Pattison's statement, that Andrewes "was one of the knot of bishops who planned and deliberately carried through the wanton execution of Legatt" (*Life of Casaubon*, p. 331), justifiable. Gardiner (ii. 120) says nothing of Andrewes' connection

[1] Isaacson. [2] Buckeridge, *Funeral Sermon* (vol. v. p. 293).
[3] St. Luke xiv. 13, 14.

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with this affair, for which the king and archbishop Abbot were primarily responsible. It is possible that Andrewes was present at the conference between the king and Legatt. Legatt was ultimately brought before the Consistory court of London, handed over to the secular arm, and burned March 18, 1612. The most that can be said is that Andrewes may have taken part in some stage of the proceedings, but there is no proof that he was in any way responsible for the shocking penalty inflicted. Mr. Pattison gives no authority for his statement, nor can I discover any. On the case of Legatt, see Perry, *English Church History*, 2nd Period, p. 338.

CHAPTER VIII

BISHOP ANDREWES AS A PREACHER

It was as a preacher that bishop Andrewes was most widely known and admired by his contemporaries. The controversial atmosphere in which he was obliged to live and work was quite uncongenial to his temperament. His was one of those devout and contemplative minds which finds its satisfaction rather in reverent study of Christian mysteries, than in polemical defence of them. He did not find himself at home in the field of apologetics. Even his controversial works display more of the temper of a loyal Englishman, who felt that the safety and liberty of his king and country were at stake, than of the theological champion. He believed simply and devoutly in the power of truth to work its own way; he preferred to combat the various forms of error that prevailed in his day, not by polemical statements, but by the clear, luminous, and positive exhibition of Christian truth. He was unwilling to enter, beyond what was absolutely necessary, into the strife of tongues. "He looked for producing his effect on the tone and course of religious thought in England, not by arguing, but by presenting uncontroversially the reasonableness and the attractions of a larger, freer, nobler, more

generous—may I say, more imaginative?—system of teaching." . . . He conceived that the task for which he was best fitted "was to spend his life and gifts in presenting continually in the pulpit the counter-attraction of a purer and nobler pattern of faith, a religion with vaster prospects and wider sympathies; which claimed kindred with all that was ancient, and all that was universal in Christianity; which looked above the controversies and misunderstandings of the hour, to the larger thought and livelier faith and sanctified genius of those in whom the Church of Christ has recognised her most venerated teachers."[1]

It is a consequence of this habit of mind that the main characteristic of Andrewes' method was *gentleness*. One of the sermons that seems most to have impressed his hearers was based on the text, "Thou didst lead Thy people like sheep by the hand of Moses and Aaron."[2] He enlarges with touching beauty on the words *populus tuus*: "*Populus*, so unruly a rout as Moses and Aaron would disdain once to touch them; but when *tuus* is added, it will make any of them not only to touch them, but to take them by the hand . . . for *tuus* nothing is too good." He applies this line of thought to his own time and countrymen. He speaks in glowing terms of the dignity—the privilege of kingship and priesthood: "Over such a flock, so highly prized, so dearly beloved, and so dearly bought, it may well beseem any to be a guide—Moses with all his learning; Aaron with all his eloquence; yea, even 'kings to be their foster-fathers, and queens to be

[1] Church, *Masters in English Theology*, pp. 94, 97.
[2] No. 2 of the Lent series.

their nurses.' No leading, no leader too good for them."

This tone in a zealous upholder of divine right is most welcome. There is in Andrewes' references to the common people a compassionate tenderness, a gracious considerateness and respect, which more than any other trait appeals to our modern sympathies. An instinctive abhorrence of violent, harsh, coercive methods; faith in the attractive and winning power of truth clearly presented; a vivid sense of the heightening of human relationships which Christianity has introduced; the motherhood of the Church, the sonship and brotherhood of man, the paternal regard and right of control that belongs to true kingship—all these are genuine elements in Andrewes' view of mankind, and give us a clue to his influence. He has the true heart of a priest; his thoughts about men are sober, yet hopeful; he does not expect too much, nor aim at too little. "These two defects," he says, speaking of the commonalty, "do mainly enforce the necessity of a leader. For they that want sight, as blind men, and they that want strength, as little children, stir not without great peril, except they have one to lead them. And both these wants are in sheep, and in the people too." This spirit of considerateness (ἐπιείκεια) which distinguishes Andrewes from other prominent churchmen of his time, was one main secret of his laborious industry as a teacher. In his exposition of the fifth commandment;[1] he lays down the duties and qualifications of the teaching office. "In the *manner* of his teaching," he says that a teacher must, "first, clear parables and dark speeches;

[1] *Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine*, p. 190.

secondly, proceed in method and order; thirdly, teach as his hearers are able to learn (John xvi. 12)." This last point would require a careful consideration of the capacities and needs of the hearers. Andrewes' own work was mainly the systematic instruction of an educated and well-informed audience; but here, too, he remembered that he was dealing with frail and tempted human beings, each having his own trials, needs, and secret longings for the life of goodness. "The tidings," he tells them, "of the gospel are as well for Lydia the purple seller, as for Simon the tanner; for the Areopagite, the judge at Athens, as for the jailor at Philippi; for the elect lady, as for widow Dorcas; for the lord treasurer of Ethiopia, as for the beggar at the Beautiful gate of the temple; for the household of Cæsar, as for the household of Stephanas: yea, and if he will, for King Agrippa too . . . as, indeed, I know none so rich but needs these tidings; all to feel the want of them in their spirits; no *dicis quia dives sum;* as few sparks of the Pharisee as may be, in them that will be interested in it." [1] He takes that impartial view of men, which is so needful for those who would do them good. He has a deep feeling for their common needs and aspirations. On his sermons, accordingly, most of which were preached before the English court, the bishop spent unsparing pains; they show traces of the most careful meditation and minute study of Scripture.[2] This industry in preparation, aided by a memory of wonder-

[1] *Sermons*, vol. iii. pp. 290, 291.

[2] He used to say that if he had preached twice on one day he had prated once; and is said to have made three revisions of his "solemn sermons."

ful retentiveness, gives to his sermons their leading characteristic: not, as we might have expected, a laboured or artificial tone, but *fulness;* fulness of matter—copiousness of ideas—richness and versatility in treatment. It is this quality that makes the sermons hard but fascinating reading. They seem to "get so much out of the text." They impress the reader not by a sustained chain of reasoning, but by the wealth of biblical illustration and patristic comment with which they enforce and give substance and clearness to a leading thought. A discerning critic has laid stress on this point. "The bishop," he says, "has everything in his head at once, not in the sense in which a puzzle-headed person may be said to have, who has *every idea confused* in his mind, because he has *no one idea clear*, but like a man who is at once clear-headed and *manifold*, if we may be allowed the word, in his ideas, who can do more than apprehend one point keenly, or many points dimly—can apprehend, that is to say, many keenly. . . . He *pursues*, rather than is *carried on by*, his subject, and maintains the vigour of his style by perpetually *renewing*, rather than by *sustaining* it."[1]

The style of Andrewes' sermons is thus peculiar to himself. One who had tried to imitate his style confessed his failure: "I had almost marred my own natural trot by endeavouring to imitate his artificial amble."[2] It contrasts strangely with the ample and stately flow of diction that characterises Hooker; with the grace and dignity of some great modern preachers. To us who are accustomed to a flowing

[1] Dr. Mozley in *British Critic*, vol. xxxi. p. 173.

[2] Bishop Felton; see Fuller's *Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 358.

style—the λέξις εἰρομένη—the sermons seem at first sight like skeleton or outline discourses. There must have been, of course, something in Andrewes' delivery that gave his preaching such incomparable attractiveness, and that made up for its defects of form; but at a first glance the sermons seem to belong more naturally to that "world of sermon notes" from which his earliest editors selected them,[1] than to a collection of finished discourses. The condensation and apparent fragmentariness, however, which we find at first somewhat repellent, gives wonderful freshness, strength, and terseness to the sermons. Indeed, the style, with all its apparent inelegance, often reminds us, by its incisive antithetic treatment of Christian facts, of the sermons of S. Leo. Thus (speaking with his usual high and reverent language of the Holy Eucharist) Andrewes says:—

"It is most kindly to take part with Him in that which He took part in with us, and that to no other end, but that He might make the receiving of it by us a means whereby He might 'dwell in us, and we in Him'; He taking our flesh and we receiving His Spirit; by His flesh which He took of us receiving His Spirit which He imparteth to us; that as He by ours became *consors humanae naturae*, so we by His might become *consortes divinae naturae*"[2] (2 Pet. i. 4.), etc.

Or again (on the Incarnation):—

"This, why God? But why this Person the Son? Behold, 'Adam would' have 'become one of Us,' the fault; behold, one of Us will become Adam, is the

[1] See the *Epistle Dedicatory* of Laud and Buckeridge prefixed to vol. i. of the Oxford edition.

[2] Vol. i. p. 16.

satisfaction. Which of Us would he have become? *Sicut Dii scientes*, 'the Person of knowledge.' He therefore shall become Adam; a Son shall be given. Desire of knowledge, our attainder: He in 'whom all the treasures of knowledge,' our restoring. Flesh would have been the Word, as wise as the Word—the cause of our ruin; meet then the 'Word become flesh,' that so our ruin repaired. . . . A meet person to make a Mediator of God and man, as symbolising with either, God and man; a meet person to make an union; *ex utroque unum*, seeing He was *unum ex utroque*; a meet person to cease hostility, as having taken pledges of both heaven and earth—the chief nature in heaven, and the chief on earth, etc." [1]

So far as it is possible, an attempt will now be made to analyse the impression which bishop Andrewes' preaching makes upon the reader, and to indicate the main points which give the sermons their permanent value.

I. We may notice, first, the bishop's excellences as an *expositor of Scripture*. His method is to "divide" his text, and to deal with it exhaustively. It was a main object with him to explain the text. Consequently, "he seems always on his guard, either against losing sight of his text himself, or allowing his hearer to do so; and so he takes it about with him wherever he goes, and for convenience' sake divides and parcels it, that he may only have a little of it to hold in his hand at once." [2] In fact, he never allows himself to let go of the text. This was a fixed principle with him. Thus, in preaching on S. Luke iv. 18, 19, our Lord's first sermon, he points out that Christ "took a text,

[1] Vol. i. pp. 22, 23; cp. vol. i. pp. 89, 91.
[2] Dr. Mozley in *British Critic*, vol. xxxi. p. 175.

to teach us thereby to do the like. To keep us within; not to fly out, or preach much, either without or besides the book."[1] This exactly describes his own practice. All his illustrations, and they are almost entirely drawn from Scripture itself, are made to bear on the central thought of the text. Thus in his first sermon on the Nativity the main thought is contained in one word, *apprehendit*—"He laid hold of [took on Him] the seed of Abraham." With wonderful vividness the import of the word is insisted on: a flight and a hot pursuit. "When man fell, He did all; made after him presently with *Ubi es?* Sought to reclaim him, 'What have you done? Why have you done so?' . . . gave not over His pursuit though it were long and laborious, and He full weary; though it cast Him into a 'sweat,' a 'sweat of blood' . . . followed His pursuit through danger, distress—yea, through death itself. Followed and so followed, as nothing made Him leave following till He overtook."[2] This main idea is illustrated by reference to "all those other 'apprehendings' or seizures of the persons of men, by which God layeth hold on them and bringeth them back from error to truth, and from sin to grace": by S. Peter's deliverance from peril when Christ "caught him by the hand"; by Lot's rescue when the angels "plucked him out of Sodom." The train of thought leads on naturally to the concluding point—the duty of a "mutual and reciprocal apprehension"—a laying hold of Christ by man in the word and sacraments. The general result is that the central image of the sermon, that of "laying hold," is indelibly impressed on the hearer's mind.

[1] Vol. iii. p. 280. [2] Vol. i. pp. 6, 7, 9.

It is part also of his conscientious care as an expositor, that Andrewes prefers the traditional exegesis of Scripture; in his explanation of a text he systematically follows the fathers. "The ancient fathers," he says, "thought it meet that they that would take upon them to interpret 'the apostles' doctrine' should put in sureties that their senses they gave were no other than the Church in former time hath acknowledged. It is true the apostles, indeed, spake from the Spirit, and every affection of theirs was an oracle; but that, I take it, was their peculiar privilege. But all that are after them speak not by revelation, but by labouring in the word and learning; are not to utter their own fancies, and to desire to be believed upon their bare word; . . . but only on condition that the sense they now give is not a feigned sense, as S. Peter termeth it, but such an one as hath been before given by our fathers and forerunners in the Christian faith . . . which one course, if it were straitly holden, would rid our Church of many fond imaginations which now are stamped daily, because every man upon his own single bond is trusted to deliver the meaning of any scripture, which is many times nought else but his own imagination. This is the disease of our age."[1]

His first editors draw attention to other merits of his preaching, especially his singular clearness in doctrinal statements. His early work as catechist at Pembroke Hall had impressed him with the importance of exact and lucid statement when it was his business to instruct, as well as to edify, his hearers. What strikes us perhaps most forcibly is his felicity in

[1] Vol. v. p. 57 (*of the Worshipping of Imaginations*).

linking exact statements of doctrine to scriptu imagery. One instance will suffice.

"Thrice was the Holy Ghost sent, and in three forms: (1) of a dove; (2) of breath; (3) of cloven tongues. From the Father, as a dove; from the Son, as breath; from both, as cloven tongues—the very cleft showing they came from two. At Christ's baptism the Father sent Him from heaven 'in shape of a dove.' So from the Father He proceedeth. After, at His rising here, Christ by 'a breath' sends Him into the apostles. So from the Son He proceedeth. After, being received up into the glory of His Father, He together with the Father — the Father and He both sent Him this day down, 'in tongues of fire.' So from both He proceedeth. 'Proceeding from the Father' *totidem verbis* (John xv. 26), and proceeding here from the Son, *ad oculum*, 'really.' Not in words only; we may believe our eyes, we see Him so to proceed. Enough to clear the point, *a Patre Filioque*."[1]

We here touch upon another merit of Andrewes, one which he seems to owe to his profound knowledge of the Bible. He has caught from Scripture some measure of "the spirit of revelation"; a deep and strong sense of the range and comprehensiveness of Christian truth; a perception of the bearing of one department of truth on another, of the relations that subsist between different doctrines, above all, of their moral claim and elevating influence on men. He is imbued with the thought of the

[1] Sermon IX. *on the Holy Ghost* (vol. iii. p. 264). Another fine example is the exposition of S. John i. 14 (Sermon VI. *on the Nativity*, vol. i. p. 87 foll.); see also Sermon VII. *on the Nativity* (vol. i. p. 108).

greatness of the Christian heritage. "I want time," he cries, "to tell of the benefit which the prophet calleth the 'harvest' or booty of His Nativity. That it is in a word, if the tree be ours, the fruit is; if He be ours, His birth is ours, His life is ours, His death is ours, His satisfaction, His merit—all He did, all He suffered is ours. Further, all that the Father hath is His, He is heir of all; then, all that is ours too. S. Paul hath cast up our account: having given Him, there is nothing but He will give us with Him; so that by this deed we have title to all that His Father or He is worth."[1]

Andrewes, indeed, often displays, in other passages as in this, the true catholicity of spirit which corresponds to the solemn greatness of the Christian revelation, and the immeasurable range of Scripture. His aim is ever to bring out the full *content* of dogma; to exhibit its bearings on life; to give reality and vividness to men's apprehension of it. In this respect there is affinity, both in the structure and tone of his sermons, between him and the Father whom he so often quotes—S. Chrysostom. There is the same tendency to a 'running commentary,' each verse of a passage being expounded in its order;[2] the same lucidity; the same insistance on practical aspects of known truth, and avoidance of speculation on the "secret things" of the Most High.[3] Points "that are necessary," he says, "He hath made plain; those that are not plain, not necessary. What better

[1] Vol. i. p. 28.

[2] See especially the series on *the Resurrection*, no. XIV. (vol. iii. p. 3).

[3] Cp. Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 96.

proof than this here [the Incarnation as part of the mystery of godliness]? This here a mystery, a great one—religion hath no greater—yet manifest and *in confesso* with all Christians."[1] He speaks with severe irony of the "tossing" of divine decrees, "this sounding the depth of His judgments with our line and lead, too much presumed upon by some in these days of ours. . . . S. Paul, looking down into it, ran back and cried, 'O the depth!' the profound depth! not to be searched, past our fathoming or finding out. Yet are there in the world that make but a shallow of this great deep; they have sounded it to the bottom. God's secret decrees they have them at their fingers' ends, and can tell you the number and the order of them, just with 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Men that sure must have been in God's cabinet, above the third heaven, where S. Paul never came."[2] This sacred dread of intrusion into what is dark or obscure in revelation, is characteristic of Andrewes: he shrank as sensitively from the over-articulated faith of the Roman text-books, as from the hard and confident dogmatism of the Calvinist.[3] To him the revealed doctrine of the Church, the whole cycle of which the Nativity and the Passion are the centre, is infinitely great and august; is "infinitely wronged" by an over-familiar treatment, or an inquisitive temper, more intent on rounding off a system, than on presenting the faith in its true proportion.

As an expositor, then, Andrewes will repay a close and attentive study. He is strong in his method;

[1] Vol. i. p. 35. [2] Vol. iii. p. 32.

[3] See especially his treatment of the words, "My God, my God" (vol. ii. p. 124).

in his reverence for antiquity; in his lucidity and exactness; in his reverent sense of the due proportions and mutual relations of the different parts of Christian doctrine.

II. There is, however, another order of qualities apparent in bishop Andrewes' preaching which to the ordinary reader prove more attractive; his mind has another side, one which may be called poetic or imaginative. The clear and firm grasp of his subject, the wide knowledge of Scripture, the varied erudition which he displays—all these impress a theological student of his sermons; but what is most likely to captivate a general reader is the playful and tender sweetness, the undercurrent of warm feeling, the delicate and restrained humour which is not afraid to smile even when touching subjects in themselves venerable and affecting.

As instances of this trait, we may take the sermon on the words, "Mercy and Truth shall meet; Righteousness and Peace shall kiss one another, etc."; [1] and with even more confidence the exquisite exposition of S. John xx. 11–17, "But Mary stood by the sepulchre weeping, etc." [2] The first of these discourses mainly owes its beauty to the poetic personification of the four "parties" who are described as meeting together. "They meet," says Andrewes, "at a birth"—"the birth of Truth, *Veritas orta*." The reconciling effects of this birth are described with quaint beauty. One specimen will give a good idea of the whole treatment.

"With Righteousness it works two ways: first,

[1] Series on the Nativity, no. XI. (vol. i. p. 175).
[2] Vol. iii. p. 3.

'down she looks.' Whether it was that she missed Truth, to see what was become of her, and not finding her in heaven, cast down her eye to the earth; but there, when she beheld *Verbum caro factum*, 'the Word flesh,' the truth freshly sprung there where it had been a strange plant long time before—*aspexit* and *respexit*, she looked and looked again at it. For a sight it was to draw the eye. . . . Before—Righteousness had no prospect, no window open this way. She turned away her face, shut her eyes, clapped to the casement, would not abide so much as to look hither—at us, a sort of forlorn sinners; not vouchsafe us once the cast of her eye. The case is now altered: upon this sight she is not only content in some sort to condescend to do it, but she breaks a window through to do it. And then, and ever since this *orta est*, she looks upon the earth with a good aspect. . . . But then, within a verse after, not only 'down she looks,' but 'down she comes.' . . . And coming, she doth two things: (1) meets first; for upon the view of this birth they all ran first and 'kissed the Son'; (2) and that done, Truth ran to Mercy and embraced her; and Righteousness to Peace and 'kissed' her. They that had been so long parted, and stood out in difference, now meet and are made friends; howsoever before removed, *in ortu Veritatis obviaverunt sibi;* howsoever before estranged, now *osculatae sunt.*" [1]

In the three sermons on Mary Magdalene at the sepulchre, there is beauty of another order, a poetic loveliness of thought and expression; an exquisite moral beauty in the application. Two passages will give a good idea of the whole.

[1] Vol. i. pp. 187, 188.

"We are now at the angels' part, their appearing in this verse (John xx. 12). . . . In the grave she saw them; and angels in a grave is a strange sight, a sight never seen before; not till Christ's body had been there, never till this day. For a grave is no place for angels, one would think, for worms rather; blessed angels, not but in a blessed place. For since Christ lay there, that place is blessed. There was a voice heard from heaven, 'Blessed be the dead,' 'Precious the death,' 'Glorious the memory,' now of 'them that die in the Lord.' And even this, that the angels disdained not now to come thither and to sit there, is an *auspicium* of a great change to ensue in the state of that place. *Quid gloriosius angelo? quid vilius vermiculo?* saith Augustine. *Qui fuit vermiculorum locus, est et angelorum.* 'That which was the place for worms is become a place for angels.'"

He proceeds to speak of their habit, "in white." "It seems to be their Easter-Day colour, for at this feast they all do their service in it. . . . Heaven mourned on Good Friday, the eclipse made all then in black. Easter Day it rejoiceth, heaven and angels all in white." "In white," and "sitting." "As the colour of joy, so the situation of rest." . . . On this thought he enlarges with great beauty, and concludes this part of the exposition as follows:—

(1) "Yet before we leave them, to learn somewhat of the angels; specially of the angel that sat at the feet. That between them there was no striving for places. He that sat 'at the feet' as well content with his place as he that sat 'at the head.' We to be so by their example. For with us, both the angels

would have been 'at the head,' never an one 'at the feet.' With us none would be at the feet by his goodwill, head angels all. (2) Again, from them both. That inasmuch as the head ever stands for the beginning, and the feet for the end, that we be careful that our beginnings only be not glorious—Oh, an angel at the head in any wise!—but that we look to the feet there be another there too. *Ne turpiter atrum desinat*,[1] 'that it end not in a black angel,' that began in a white." [2]

It is difficult to refrain from further quotations; with one more, however, we must be content. Thus on, "If thou hast taken Him away, tell me where thou hast laid Him," he says, "Him? Which Him? Her affections seem so to transport her as she says no man knows what. To one, a mere stranger, . . . she talks of one thrice under the term of 'Him': 'If thou hast taken Him away, tell me where thou hast laid Him, and I will fetch Him;' Him, Him, and Him, and never names Him, or tells who He is. This is *soloccismus amoris*, an irregular speech, but love's own dialect. 'Him' is enough with love; who knows not who that is? It supposes everybody, all the world bound to take notice of Him whom we look for, only by saying 'Him,' though we never tell His name, nor say a word more." [3] In a similar vein he comments on *ego tollam*, "I will take Him away," which, he says, "seems rather the speech of a porter, or of some lusty strong fellow at least, than of a silly weak woman."

Other examples might be given of a style that sometimes surprises us by its sustained charm, as, for in-

[1] Horat. *A. P.* init. [2] Vol. iii. pp. 9–11. [3] Vol. iii. p. 19.

stance, the sermon on S. John xx. 22:[1] "He breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive the Holy Ghost." The same trait appears also in single images of great beauty, as when the prophecies of the coming Messiah are compared to beacons. "For look, how many *ecces* in the Scriptures, so many beacons. . . . This *ecce* here ['Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy'] to the last *Ecce concipies* of the Blessed Virgin; that to Esay's *Ecce concipiet virgo;* that to David's *Ecce de fructu ventris tui;* that to Abraham's *Ecce in semine tuo;* and so up till ye come to *semen mulieris.* There they first begin, and take light one from another till they come to the *Ecce natus est hodie* the *ecce* of all *ecces,* the last and highest of them all, etc."[2]

With this may be compared the striking passage in Sermon IV. *on Repentance and Fasting,* where the duty of "turning to God" is illustrated from the analogy of nature: "Once a year, all things turn. And that once is now at this time, for now at this season is the turning of the year, etc."[3] The same imaginative vein is illustrated in the comment on Mary Magdalene's belief that Christ was "the Gardener,"[4] a thought on which Andrewes enlarges with a loving play of fancy, noticing how "in very deed a kind of resurrection . . . was wrought in her; revived, as it were, and raised from a dead and drooping to a lively and cheerful estate. The Gardener had done His part; made her all green on the sudden."[5] Of the heightened imaginative faculty which is sometimes the fruit of devout meditation, the three sermons on the Passion are good examples. One of them (on Lam. i. 12) was admired by bishop Horne

[1] Vol. iii. p. 261. [2] Vol i. p. 72. [3] Vol. i. p. 357.
[4] Vol. iii. pp. 15, 16. [5] Vol. iii. p. 21.

as "the highest wrought discourse extant" on the Passion. The third sermon is wonderful as a description of our Lord's sufferings, and is crowned by an exquisite image. "For sure, if ever aught were truly said of our Saviour, this was: that being spread and laid wide open on the cross, He is *liber charitatis* wherein he that runneth may read, *Sic dilexit* . . . love all over, from one end to the other. Every stripe as a letter, every nail as a capital letter. His *livores* as black letters, His bleeding wounds as so many rubrics, to show upon record His love toward us."[1]

Of lively wit and pungent irony there is abundance in the sermons, and much of that refining and play upon words which was the habit of the time. Thus, speaking of the "mystery of godliness," Andrewes observes: "In our godliness now-a-days we go very mystically to work, indeed; we keep it under a veil, and nothing manifest but *opera carnis*."[2] So, referring to a common cry about fasting, he says: "Now, in place of 'Be not like hypocrites,' is come a fear of 'Be not like papists.' And not to fast is made a *supersedeas* to all popery, as if that alone were enough to make us truly reformed. This is all our fear now."[3] Again, "The stream of our times tends all to this, to make religion nothing but an auricular profession, a matter of ease, a mere sedentary thing, and ourselves merely passive in it: sit still and hear a sermon and two anthems, and be saved; as if by the act of the choir, or of the preacher, we should so be. . . . And we do nothing ourselves . . . without so much as anything

[1] Vol. ii. p. 180.
[2] Vol. i. p. 42; cp. vol. iv. p. 373 f.
[3] Vol. i. p. 403.

done by us . . . not so much as this, of calling on the name of the Lord." [1]

Here, again, is a description of the rich: [2] "And sure if the rich will glory, they must glory with S. Paul, for they are in all, and in more, and greater than the apostle ever was. He was 'in perils of water,' they in peril both of water and fire; he was 'in peril of robbers,' they in peril of rovers by sea and robbers by land; he 'in peril of his own nation,' they are in peril of our own nation and of other nations, both removed as the Moor and Spaniard, and near home as the Dunkirker; he 'in peril of strangers,' they not of strangers only, but of their own households, their servants and factors; he 'in peril of the sea,' they both of the tempest at the sea and the publican on land; he 'in peril of the wilderness,' that is, of wild beasts, they not only of the wild beast called the sycophant, but of the tame beast, too, called the flatterer; he in danger 'of false brethren,' and so are they in peril of certain false brethren called wilful bankrupts, and of certain other called deceitful lawyers: for the one their debts, for the other their estates and deeds can have no certainty." [3]

We notice, indeed, that those qualities reappear in Andrewes' sermons which caused him to be so esteemed and admired in society. To his habitual gravity, dignity, and self-respect was added a simplicity, brightness, gentleness, and humour which enabled him to say sharp and severe things without wounding his hearers, and

[1] Vol. iii. p. 319. [2] Vol. v. p. 22.

[3] Andrewes' readiness to play on words is illustrated by his treatment of the word *Immanuel* (vol. i. p. 145 f.), or of *Paracletus* (vol. iii. p. 178), but it is a common habit with him.

which took the sting out of his reproofs. Men of another stamp are perhaps likely to do more to raise the tone of society in their day; but men of Andrewes' mould do a great deal towards leavening it, and keeping it wholesome and uncorrupt.

There are, of course, instances in which this lively fancy passes the bounds of strict decorum and good taste. A notable example occurs in the Easter Day sermon for 1611. Addressing the king, Andrewes tells him that he is not merely "head stone of the corner," *caput anguli*, but *caput trianguli*, a king with three kingdoms. "Since your sitting in the seat of this kingdom," he continues," some there were, builders one would have taken them to be if he had seen them with their tools in their hands, as if they had been to have laid some foundation; where their meaning was, to undermine and to cast down foundations and all; yea, to have made a right stone of you, and blown you up among the stones, you and yours without any more ado, etc."[1] There are passages of the same kind in other sermons, but they are so scarce as to be insignificant blemishes in Andrewes' unique style.

III. A third characteristic of Andrewes' preaching is animation, life, vividness. This is partly the result of the profusion of his ideas. "Bishop Andrewes," says Dr. Mozley, "hardly comes under the criticism, *Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.* Whatever faults he may have, that is not one: he never sleeps; he is always on the move in one direction or another. Incessant aim and activity is the pervading characteristic of his sermons; his shortnesses, quaintnesses, his multiplied divisions, his texts, wielded with such

[1] Vol. ii. p. 291.

dexterity and ever at hand, ever, as it were, on service —all keep up the stirring and business-like character of the scene; all are at work . . . occupying themselves like bees in their hive. "*Et munire favos et daedala fingere tecta.*"[1] It is somewhat misleading to point to any one example of a pervading quality; but a conspicuous instance may be found in the sermon on the sign of Jonas (the twelfth of the series on the Resurrection).[2] The same vividness is secured sometimes by terse and picturesque bits of description;[3] often by means of a paraphrase, or use of the *oratio recta*. Thus, when he is enforcing the duty of seeking God, he well describes the half-heartedness of many: "So loosely, so slightly, so slenderly they did it: as if that they sought were as good lost as found. So sought the party that said, *In lectulo quaesivi quem diligit anima* (Cant. iii. 1), that lay in bed and sought. . . . Such is our seeking for the most part. Some idle question cast, some table-talk moved, some *Quid est veritas*, and go our way—all, by the way, *in transcursu*, etc."[4]

So, speaking of *Noli me tangere*, he expands our Lord's injunction: "Why, you that would so fain take and carry Me being dead, go take and carry Me now alive; that is, carry news that I am alive, and you shall better please Me with this *ego tollam* a great deal; it shall be a better carrying, *ego tollam* in a

[1] *British Critic*, vol. xxxi. p. 202. [2] Vol. ii. p. 383.

[3] *E.g.* that of the hypocrite's fast (vol. i. p. 409): "So he can set his countenance well, have the clouds in his forehead, his eyes somewhat hollow, certain wrinkles in his cheek, carry his head like a bulrush, and look like leaven—all is well. As for any inward accomplishment, he never takes thought for any."

[4] Vol. i. p. 312.

better sense than ever was that. Stand not here, then, touching Me; go and touch them."[1]

So again on S. John xvi. 7 :—

"'I tell you the truth,' as much to say, You are in an error all the while; 'your hearts be full of sorrow,' because your heads are full of error. You conceive of My stay as beneficial to you, but falsely. . . . It is so far from that as *impediet*, 'it will hinder you,' turn to your loss. . . . Seeing, then, ye shall be losers by My stay and gainers by My going, be not for My stay, My stay will deprive you of Him: *non veniet.* Be not against My going, My absence will procure you Him: *Mittam.* I love you not so evil as to stay with you for your hurt. Be not you grieved, be not against that which is for your good,"[2] and so on.

Paradoxical, indeed, as it may seem, the perpetual use of quotations, and especially of single words from the Vulgate, adds to the force and vivacity of Andrewes' preaching. It must be remembered that the sermons were preached before a learned monarch; and in educated circles the Vulgate would be not uncommonly used for the purpose of quotation.[3] Dr. Mozley happily remarks that Andrewes' method of carrying forward, as it were, a single word or phrase is "a kind of shorthand," "a kind of algebraical method of denoting things," by which the necessity of tedious repetition is frequently avoided, and an important point retained in the memory of the hearers. Thus, in the first sermon on Repentance (Ps. lxxviii. 34, "Cum occideret eos, quaerebant Eum"), there is not a single page on which one, at least, of the two key-

[1] Vol. iii. p. 45. [2] Vol. iii. p. 165.

[3] Cp. Dr. Mozley, *British Critic*, vol. xxxi. p. 174.

words, *quaerebant* or *occideret*, fails to appear. "He is never tired of using the same word; it meets us again and again in every shape and connection, and pierces and perforates the whole sermon. . . . It is the peculiar office of a deep and vigorous mind to wield this power, to make its ideas irresistible by the unremitting force of their position as ideas." [1] A hearer would be fascinated by the interest of watching for the reappearance of the key-word, wondering in what combination it might meet him again. He could not fail to be impressed with the importance of an often-repeated idea.

IV. And this brings us to the last and most striking merit of Andrewes' preaching—its reality. Reality alone is the secret of effectiveness. His hearers well knew that underneath the many solid and brilliant qualities of the scholar and divine lay concealed the austerity and purity of a saintly life. No attentive reader of the sermons can escape the conviction that he is in contact with a character of genuine and rare spirituality; he catches glimpses of a true and loving heart; the tones he hears are those of a single-minded sincerity. A disciplined life lies in the background and gives substantial weight to the utterance. There is a peculiar devotion, a genuine unction, apparent in Andrewes' treatment of the great Christian mysteries —the Nativity, the Passion, the Sacraments of Grace. Everywhere we recognise the touch of one who not only knows, but loves; who has real enthusiasm for what he teaches, and belief in the capacity of his hearers; who at once understands and feels the truth that he expounds.[2] He believed, as we have seen

[1] *Ibid.* p. 193.

[2] See, for instance, vol. i. p. 92; ii. pp. 154–157; iii. p. 148.

in the power of truth positively presented. Preaching before the court, as he usually did, on three of the great Christian festivals, he aimed at teaching in a form at once scriptural and dogmatic, the great fact commemorated by the Church on the particular day; it was not his main object to *exhort* those who were educated enough to see the practical bearings of the doctrine which was being impressed on them. He usually contents himself with an earnest and moving appeal to his hearers to celebrate the festival and appropriate the gift it commemorates by partaking of the blessed Sacrament. But in dealing with practical subjects, such as that of fasting, or the obligations of the rich, the element of exhortation and passionate appeal is more prominent. One of the most remarkable of his sermons for this and other reasons, is the Spital sermon (preached in 1588), on 1 Tim. vi. 17 f.: "Charge them that are rich, etc." In this we are struck by an outspoken boldness and directness of censure and appeal which is much less prominent in the court sermons. The following passage illustrates the general tone of the discourse:—

Speaking of the charges made against the English Church by papists, Andrewes says: "One of them saith that our religion hath comforted your force attractive so much, and made it so strong, that nothing can be wrung from you. Another, he saith that our religion hath brought a hardness into the bowels of our professors that they pity little, and the cramp or chiragra into their hands that they give less. Another, that our preaching hath bred you minds full of Solomon's horse-leeches, that cry 'Bring in, bring in,' and nothing else. All of them say that your good

works come so from you, as if indeed your religion were to be saved by faith only. Thus through you, and through want of your doing good, the gospel of Christ is evil spoken of among them that are without. They say, we call not to you for them; that we preach not this point, that we leave them out of our charges. *Libero animam meam*, 'I deliver here mine own soul.' I do now call for them, I have done it elsewhere ere now. Here I call for them now, I take witness, I call you to record, I call heaven to record; *Domine scis quia dixi, scis quia locutus sum, scis quia clamavi*, 'Lord, Thou knowest I have spoken for them, I have called for them, I have cried for them,' I have made them a part of my charge, and the most earnest and vehement part of my charge, even the charge of doing good.

"Unto you, therefore, that be rich, be it spoken: Hear your charge, I pray you. There is no avoiding, you must needs seal this fruit of well-doing, you must needs do it. For having wealth and wherewithal to 'do good,' if you do it not *inprimis*, talk not of faith, for you have no faith in you; if you have wherewith to show it and show it not, S. James saith you have none to show. Nor tell me not of your religion; there is no religion in you: 'pure religion is this,' as to very good purpose was showed yesterday, 'to visit the fatherless and widows'; and you never learned other religion of us."[1]

In preaching, Andrewes set before himself a clear and definite aim. He wished to inform and instruct, and it is as models of instruction that many of his

[1] This passage is followed by an allusion to the social problems of London at the time, which is full of interest; see vol. v. p. 43 foll.

sermons are most valuable. Thus it is not necessary to speak particularly of the political sermons preached on November 5 or on August 5 (which commemorated the king's escape from the mysterious Gowrie conspiracy).[1] In them we could hardly look for the same qualities that make the great doctrinal discourses so important. And of these, didactic skill is not the only merit. Andrewes' editors hit the right note when they find the secret of his power in the combination of rare learning with exalted goodness. The preacher brought with him into the heart of a corrupt court an atmosphere of unworldliness; the vulgar scene of intrigue, of place-hunting, of sycophancy, of extravagant display and frivolous pleasure-seeking, was hushed and tranquillised on those few occasions in the year when Andrewes appeared in the pulpit of the royal chapel. It is worth while to refer in this connection to an interesting notice of Andrewes' preaching contained in a tract of Sir John Harrington.[2] He points to two special characteristics of the sermons: first, "their tendency to raise a joint reverence to God and the Prince, to the spiritual and civil magistrate, by uniting and not severing them; the other, to lead to amendment of life, and good works, the fruits of true repent-

[1] The sermons *on the Gunpowder Plot*, nos. II., III., VII., are good specimens. The sermons *on the Gowrie Conspiracy* are concerned with the subject of sovereign power, its original source, its inherent sacredness, etc.; see vol. iv. of the Oxford edition. In vol. v. Sermon XII. (preached before King James and the queen's brother, the king of Denmark), the circumstances of the Gowrie conspiracy are described. Andrewes' account is not consistent with a passage in the *Responsio* (p. 417), where he says that no attempt was made on the king's life in Scotland.

[2] *A Brief View of the State of the Church of England*, London, 1653 (Bliss, p. xxxvii.).

ance." An example of the first kind, he adds, is to be found in the second sermon of the Lent series (on Ps. lxxvii. 20), "which sermon (though courtiers' ears are commonly so open, as it goes in at one ear and out at the other), yet it left an *aculeus* behind in many of all sorts."[1] Of the second kind "I might say all his sermons are, but I will mention but his last, that I heard the fifth of last November" (Sermon II. *on the Gunpowder Treason,* preached in 1607); "and I never saw his majesty more sweetly affected with any sermon than that."

Here we have evidence as to the effect produced by Andrewes on the average members of his courtly audience, but he was not deceived by the popularity of his preaching. He speaks on one occasion of sermon-hypocrites, who say, "O let us go hear the word;" but either attend not, "or at the best it is but as 'they that hear a song of one that hath a pleasing voice,' and no more comes of the sermon than of the song."[2] But he knew that he had a message to deliver; and the world in which he moved felt itself constrained to pause and listen. The penetrating force of purity and single-mindedness made its way. In short, it might justly be said of him that "his word was with power," because it was felt by his hearers to be the utterance of a saint.

[1] Harrington particularly notes its effect on one Henry Noell, "one of the greatest gallants of those times."

[2] Vol. i. p. 407.

CHAPTER IX

THE THEOLOGICAL POSITION OF BISHOP ANDREWES

PART I

The work of Andrewes and of the so-called Arminian school in the English Church cannot be fairly estimated without some review of the historical conditions which made the first quarter of the seventeenth century a period of stress and confusion both in politics and in theology. The Reformation was a progressive movement, and remained as yet in its earlier stages. It is misleading, in fact, to speak of the hasty provisional measures of the Elizabethan reformers as a "settlement." Their work had rather been the cautious, tentative, and partial application of principles, the full significance of which could only be appreciated in process of time, in an atmosphere of greater calmness, and by minds of wider grasp and more historical insight than the movement in its beginnings could produce. Hooker's death in 1600 may be said to mark the date at which the main elements of the new situation had become apparent. Hooker's great work had been to exhibit the leading idea of the Reformation movement, and the foundation truths to which it had appealed. He had vindicated for the actual

system of the English Church "the rights of Christian and religious reason,"[1] and had exhibited the complex nature of the ultimate authority on which a religious system must necessarily rest, if it is to appeal to the whole of human nature. The work was an indispensable one, to which the genius of Hooker had proved equal. The Puritan attack, of which he had borne the brunt, had for the moment spent its force. It was destined to triumph on the political field; but as a religious system Puritanism was, in principle at least, excluded. Its strength lay in the logical simplicity of its guiding principles, and in a rigid moral and intellectual consistency. But the Hampton Court conference of 1604 finally silenced its direct claim to recognition; in deep disatisfaction, its champions were biding their time.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, another antagonist appeared upon the scene. The Roman Church had recovered her spirit after the shocks she had suffered during the past century. She stood forward once more, strong in her compact organisation, her imperious claims, her systematised theology, to do battle for herself. She could command the devotion, the zeal, the fanaticism of countless champions, and the services of a powerful religious order armed with new weapons.[2] More than this, she found apologists, able, learned, zealous—capable of meeting the English Church on her chosen ground of appeal to antiquity, and confident of effecting her overthrow. Nor was the Roman Church ashamed to use less honourable weapons: the unscrupulous audacity and skill in political

[1] *Masters in English Theology*, p. 105.

[2] The foundation of the Jesuit order dates from 1540–1543.

intrigue of adherents who were fired by something of the martyr spirit, and would do and dare anything in her cause. Rome, indeed, was strong exactly where England was weak. A formulated theology, an irresistible central authority, a firm hold on the affections and devotion of her children—all these were wanting in the English Church. The Reformation had not as yet made good its position, or formally and historically justified itself. Vehement as the language of the earlier Reformers is—their self-defence appears weak, because illogical. From the Romanist, as well as from the Puritan, point of view, the Church adopted an unintelligible position: she clung to the old, yet sought a place for the new; she had cast off an usurped authority, yet insisted upon the royal supremacy; she seemed to embarrass herself needlessly by maintaining the continuity of the mediæval system, yet held out the hand of fellowship to foreign protestantism. She owed her independence mainly to a resolute tenacity of purpose on the part of two monarchs who were troubled by no scruples, and were but cold friends to religion. She had as yet scarcely made up her mind on some of the most burning questions of the age.

By the time that Andrewes entered the controversial field (1610), the needs of the English Church were becoming sufficiently clear. An answer could no longer be delayed to the charges of the Romanist. It was time to put on a reasonable and positive basis the real aims of the Church in boldly breaking with the papal system; to determine the true nature of the authority which she claimed to exercise over her

children ; to vindicate her from the charge of a rash and indefensible act of schism ; to elucidate her first principles ; to show what were the issues at stake in the British Reformation, and the greatness of the objects in view. It fell to Andrewes to attempt this important work. Averse as he was to polemical conflict, he could not be spared the strain and anxiety of an uncongenial task. There was no one equally qualified to aid James in resisting the fierce assault that was made by the Romanists upon his religious principles, and even upon his title to the throne. And it is not too much to say that Andrewes was the one churchman of his day best equipped for the constructive and defensive work that was now so urgently required. As to learning, he could meet the Roman controversialists on more than equal terms. His knowledge was more exact, more comprehensive, above all, more discriminating, than theirs. Moreover, he was imbued with some measure of the rising spirit of historical and inductive inquiry, in which the Puritans were so conspicuously deficient. Further, Andrewes was more equitable in temper and judgment than they. Where they passionately appealed to *à priori* principles, and drew rigorous inferences, Andrewes could reason with measured and calm deliberateness, with capacity to take broad views of things, to make necessary distinctions. He could afford to recognise what was true and admirable in the system he attacked ; what was loose, weak, and incoherent in the position he defended. Whether, in fact, we judge him from his sermons or his controversial writings, Andrewes strikes us as a man capable indeed of strong resentments and indignation against

sophistry in argument and falsification of evidence,[1] but habitually moderate and equitable in his judgments. As a student of history, he had learned to see in the English Church only one more "anomaly among anomalies—amid universal anomaly."[2] We discern in him a quality which may be regarded as a traditional element in the English character, and which to some seems a point of weakness, namely, readiness to be content with a system that falls very far short of logical completeness, consistency, and finality. "For in religion," says dean Church in his admirable sketch of Andrewes, "which means man's blindness and weakness as well as his hope, it does not do to be ambitious or to claim great things for men or for systems."[3] There was very much in the condition of his Church which to a man of Andrewes' temperament must have been most distressing, perplexing, and even alarming; but it was not worse than what he could observe in more imposing systems elsewhere, and in other ages of the Church's history. Practical difficulties and confusions afforded no just pretext for abandoning the defence of principles which in themselves were true, though they had been at times so distorted in their application to actual facts, and so obscured by the mistakes and short-sighted wilfulness of their exponents.

The *Responsio* and the *Answer to Cardinal Perron* contain what is, perhaps, the nearest approach to a positive statement of belief on the most important points of difference between England and Rome. It

[1] On the *moral* corruptions of Rome, see a strong passage in *Sermons*, vol. v. p. 42; and *Concio in disc. Palat.* (*Opusc. Posthuma*, pp. 91, 92).
[2] Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 108. [3] *Ibid.* p. 110.

is fair to remember, however, that in form the *Responsio* is unsystematic. The bishop follows Bellarmine through each turn of a desultory and shifting attack. The objection or the cavil answered in one part of the book crops up again in another chapter. The old misstatements appear in a new guise, and have to be exposed. Mr. Pattison has said that at this period of the controversy with Rome, "Catholic literature had become a system of fraud and imposture."[1] The Jesuit pamphleteer relied on "unscrupulous misrepresentation" and distortion of facts. Even the graver writers, in spite of the outward impressiveness of their work, were entirely wanting in the faculty of historical criticism. Baronius knew little of either Hebrew or Greek;[2] he cited apocryphal or disputable documents as of equal value with those that were authentic. Bellarmine used any weapon that would serve a controversial purpose; his authorities were often valueless or were irrelevantly employed.[3] But to answer such writers was a thankless task, chiefly because the general literary judgment of the age was as yet unqualified to distinguish good evidence from bad, apparent victory from real.

At first sight the controversial writings of Andrewes give the impression of being magnified pamphlets,

[1] *Life of Casaubon*, p. 354. Casaubon himself, speaking of the Jesuit l'Heureux (Eudaemon Johannes), author of *Parallelus Torti et Tortoris*, says: "Rationibus calumnias opposuit, argumentis convicia, doctrinae stupendae detestandam maledicentiam" (Bliss, p. lxxxi.).

[2] The *Annales* of Baronius were completed between 1588-1593.

[3] Thus in *Tortura Torti*, Andrewes convicts him of quoting in support of some thesis an epistle to Damasus from the Second General Council, which he had in his *Recognitio* himself admitted to be spurious; see *Tort.* p. 197.

rather than formal treatises. They bristle with clever points, epigrams, home-thrusts, retorts, banter. This, however, is less markedly the case with the *Responsio* than with the *Tortura*. In the *Responsio* positive principles emerge. We are not lost in the smoke of the fray; we can appreciate the strength of the writer's position. He is not anxious merely to make points; he has a cause to defend. He is giving an answer, not merely warding off an assault. The tone is not merely protestant, like that of the earlier Reformation literature; it is apologetic, constructive, and catholic.

The book opens with a few personal references. Andrewes remarks on the feeble and spiritless style of Bellarmine's *Apology*. Clearly he is past his fighting days.[1] His work is wanting in vigour, method, cohesion; it is time some other champion should appear on the field—up to bearing the burden and heat of conflict. This work consists merely of a few baskets full of fragments from the cardinal's former controversial treatises. He evades the topic which after all is of primary importance—that which concerns the release of subjects from their allegiance, and the claim to depose monarchs from their thrones. He turns his back on this crucial subject, and takes refuge in the commonplaces of Romish divinity.[2]

As a matter of fact, Bellarmine seems to have abandoned, from whatever motives, the defence of a cause which he felt was weak. It was impossible to deny that practically the cause of James was "the common cause of kings."[3] But he confines himself to

[1] "Cum Bellarminus *bello* et *armis minus* jam sit idoneus" (p. 2).

[2] "De regibus a pontifice deponendis οὐδὲ γρῦ" (p. 3).

[3] *Responsio*, ch. ii.

raising the question whether James and the Church which he represented had any claims to be considered catholic. He denies emphatically that a man can be called "Catholic" who rejects transubstantiation, the temporal claims of the papacy, and the invocation of saints. Here, then, was a definite issue, and on both sides it was recognised that the appeal must lie to antiquity. Bellarmine's thesis was supported by cardinal Perron, who in correspondence with Casaubon refused to acknowledge James' right to the name "Catholic." [1] Andrewes, on his part, accepts the implied challenge; and, so far as his wide historical survey can be said to have unity of aim, it is fairly accurate to describe his anti-Roman treatises as a systematic defence of the catholicity of the English Church. The Reformation movement had avowedly been based on an appeal to the teaching of the primitive Church. Andrewes is falling back on the early standpoint when he insists that the Roman system is not the true embodiment of what is catholic. "Much detriment," he says, "has the catholic faith suffered at your hands; much filth has it contracted, much from which it is no disgrace to us that we revolt. . . . This filth has lately, in some parts of the world, been washed

[1] The subsequent history of this correspondence is briefly as follows: Casaubon wrote an answer to Perron, dictated by James (November 9, 1611). After an interval of eight years appeared Perron's *Replique à la Response du Serenissime Roy de la Grand Bretagne* (à Paris, 1620), some time after the writer's death. Andrewes' *Answer* is a reply in outline to two portions of Perron's work (bk. i. c. 18; bk. v. c. 20). Perron's main point was the institution of a comparison between the church of S. Augustine and of the four Councils on the one hand, and the Church of his own day on the other. Which, he asked, bore the closest resemblance to the primitive type—England or Rome?

off, and the form which the faith originally possessed has been restored. To this faith we cling as *reformed ;* not to your deformation of it."[1] The same contention is vigorously put forward in a passage of the *Tortura :*[2]

"Our religion," says Andrewes, "you miscall modern sectarian opinions. I tell you if they are modern, they are not ours ; our appeal is to antiquity —yea, even to the most extreme antiquity. We do not innovate ; it may be we *renovate* what was customary with those same ancients, but with you has disappeared in novelties. Nor have you a right to throw Gregory in our teeth as if we failed to give him due reverence ; as if we did not cordially embrace all that his writings contain of the sense of old councils and Fathers. It is in your eyes that Gregory the Great is small. The seventh Gregory suits your interest better than the first. . . . Subjection to Rome, dependence on Rome—this is the sum of your religion."

But to state the issue in this polemical form was not enough. Andrewes saw that the claims of the English Church must be based on something more stable than protests and negations. Her main weakness was the lack of *moral* authority, of prestige, of something venerable enough to supply the place of the authority, hitherto so mighty and so far-reaching as a social force—the authority of the Roman See. So far as a mere coercive force (*vis coactiva* [3]) was required to hold the Church together as an institution — the Crown with its existing executive powers supplied the

[1] *Responsio*, p. 159. Cp. p. 466 : "At sunt indiesque plures futuri sunt Catholici absque hac '*Romani*' additione."

[2] P. 96.

[3] See the sermon on giving his due to Cæsar (vol. v. p. 127 foll.).

need. Doubtless the idea of the divine right was greatly exaggerated by the seventeenth century divines, but in default of any other sanction they were practically forced to appeal to it; and as regards Andrewes, we cannot fail to notice a wide practical difference between his view of the supremacy and that of Laud. Andrewes had no liking for compulsion; he trusted mainly to the power of persuasion to win and control the unruly and excited spirits about him. In one of his sermons he draws a beautiful picture of the true prince who "leads" his people, and does not "drag" them.[1] His tendency is to see in government a moral, rather than a material force. "Our guiding must be mild and gentle, else it is not *duxisti*, but *traxisti*; drawing and driving and no leading; . . . rather by an inward and sweet influence to be led than by an outward extreme violence to be forced forward." "The rulers have their lesson . . . heavenly and divine had those hands need be, which are to be the hands and to work the work of God." Laud represents another method, that of legal coercion. He "would never convince an opponent if he could suppress him."[2] To him uniformity seemed an object directly attainable by legal enactment: to Andrewes, an ideal to be gradually approached. Andrewes was incapable of the high-handedness and contempt for hostile prejudices which Laud displayed as dean of Gloucester, for instance, and in later years as primate. He was always for forcing matters to a crisis: Andrewes was in favour of gentle and gradual advance. Both had the same aims in view, but

[1] Sermon II. of the Lent series (vol. ii. p. 16 foll.).

[2] Wakeman, *The Church and the Puritans*, p. 100.

Andrewes had more faith than Laud in the effect of patient and continuous presentment of truth on the minds of men; he trusted to the educational influence, which indeed was already very marked, of the Reformed liturgy and the open Bible. He had, in fact, more belief in human nature than Laud, and it was an evil day for the Church when his presence was withdrawn.

It was not, therefore, coercive jurisdiction that seemed to be the present need of the English Church, but a moral authority that might subdue, win, and overawe the restless temper of the age; that might enlist the sympathies, loyalty, and reverence of men, and awaken in them once more the old instincts of devotion and the neglected faculty of worship. Andrewes found what he wanted in the primitive Church; he pointed men for guidance to the historic body — the catholic society — which, under such widely different conditions, and amid so much confusion and defacement, still preserved in England, as elsewhere, the tokens of apostolic descent—the doctrine discipline, and regimen which had been transmitted from the first age of Christendom. Accordingly he falls back on the idea of "church authority"; but at this point we notice a limitation of that vague phrase which is of the utmost importance. Andrewes seems, not indeed explicitly, but at any rate in effect, to distinguish between different *degrees* of authority. The Roman theory, since its formulation at Trent,[1] appeared to put everything on a level. It was as much the duty of a Catholic to believe in transubstantiation and in the pope's deposing power, as in

[1] *Responsio*, p. 17: "Fides haec vere Tridentina est; vere Christiana non est."

the existence of the Church or the power of the keys. Andrewes spends much pains in drawing distinctions between what is certainly and clearly *de fide*, as being matter of revelation, and what is probable and matter of opinion. He would fix the attention of men, not, as the Puritan did, on the inscrutable mysteries of God's eternal counsel, nor, as the Romanist did, on points of doctrine possibly edifying, but in any case of secondary importance. He preferred to dwell on the august certainties of the Christian creed; on what is known and revealed as the true object of man's faith, reverence, contemplation, and hope.[1]

"Blessed be God that among divers other mysteries about which there are so many mists and clouds of controversies raised in all ages, and even in this of ours, hath yet left us some clear and without controversy, manifest and yet great, . . . so great as no question to be made about them. Withal to reform our judgments in this point. For a false conceit is crept into the minds of men, to think the points of religion that be manifest to be certain petty points, scarce worth the hearing. Those, yea those be great, and none but those, that have great disputes about them. It is not so. . . . Those that are necessary He hath made plain; those that are not plain, not necessary. . . . A way of peace, then, there shall be, whereof all parts shall agree, even in the midst of a world of controversies. That there need not such ado in complaining, if men did not delight rather to be treading mazes than to walk in the paths of peace." [2]

This significant passage is important, as indicating

[1] Cp. Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 97.

[2] Sermon *on the Nativity*, III. (vol. ii. p. 35).

the point of view from which Andrewes approaches his detailed criticism of Bellarmine. Judged by the standard of truths which have *primary* authority, tested by the Vincentian canon,[1] the prominent theses of the Roman controversialist assume comparatively small proportions. Thus transubstantiation is "a new doctrine," unheard-of for centuries; not, therefore, *de fide*. The primacy of the Roman see, as interpreted by modern popes and exemplified in the claim to depose princes, is new; it is not, therefore, *de fide*. Transubstantiation was not held "always"; the Roman primacy not "everywhere." The same standard is applied to other Romish doctrines. "The practice of invocation of saints," says Bellarmine, "is a mark of catholicity." Andrewes examines the cardinal's authorities; convicts him of misquotation, and of using passages of disputable authenticity; finally dismisses his contention as "not proven." The adoration of relics, again, was a thing unknown to the primitive Christians. There was a tendency to it, which the Fathers are found to have expressly discountenanced; accordingly the practice is not catholic. The belief in seven sacraments was for centuries unknown to the Church. It is, therefore, no necessary test of catholicity.[2]

What Andrewes claimed for the English Church is

[1] "Quod semper et ubique et ab omnibus creditum est, hoc vere Catholicum."

[2] "Per annos plus mille ne numerus quidem septenarius sacramentorum auditus est" (*Responsio*, p. 72). Obs. In his reply to Perron (p. 25), Andrewes qualifies this statement: "We deny not but that the title of *sacrament* hath sometimes been given by the Fathers unto all these five, in a larger signification . . . The whole matter is a λογομαχία. If the thing were agreed upon, we should not strive for the name."

clear from these illustrations. He bases her title to catholicity on the simple fact that her faith is that of the primitive Church. She believes neither less nor more than the Fathers to whom she makes her appeal. It is the same with points of usage. In the primitive Church, public prayers in an unknown tongue, the denial of the cup to the laity, image-worship, invocation of saints, solitary masses, the papal right of deposing kings—all these were unknown. The English Church accordingly rejects them; nay, she believes that for five hundred years no Church or individual held the special tenets which are distinctive of the Roman Church. In short, where England dissents from Rome, Rome parts from antiquity.[1] "Those many things," says Andrewes, "which are laid down in the creeds and the canons of the four councils are enough for us to hold; the points we reject are not of faith."[2] It may be noticed that the limitations of the appeal to "antiquity" are more precisely defined in a passage of one of Andrewes' sermons (on Isa. lxii. 5): "One canon reduced to writing by God Himself, two testaments, three creeds, four general councils, five centuries, and the series of Fathers in that period—the three centuries, that is, before Constantine, and two after, determine the boundary of our faith."[3]

In all this line of argument it is implied that the English Church appeals to authority, but the authority is that of the undivided Church. The name Protestant, which Bellarmine casts in Andrewes' teeth

[1] "In quo nos a vobis, vos a patribus dissentitis" (*Responsio*, p. 70).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 69. Cp. p. 26: "Nobis enim non tam *articulosa* fides quam vestris hominibus, qui ad theses singulas crepant, Est de fide."

[3] *Concio habita in discessu Palatini* (*Opusc. Posthuma*, p. 91).

as "unheard-of for fifteen hundred years," is defended by him on grounds of *temporary convenience.* It denotes a certain temporary attitude, not a positive creed. It is intended to last only so long as the Roman abuses are unreformed.[1] In the English Church, religion is *reformed,* not *formed anew.* "We are renovators, not innovators," says Andrewes. "Our faith is the ancient catholic faith contained in the two testaments, the three creeds, the four councils, only restored to its proper lustre." This brings us to the point at which Andrewes' defence of the English Church may be shortly summarised.

He represents the Church as holding the position of an appellant. "For a long while have we been making our appeal to a council, but to a council duly summoned; a council in which business is conducted in the same manner and order as in the first famous four; wherein there is liberty of voting; wherein prejudice is not set in place of judgment; wherein he sits not as judge, who should be treated as defendant; wherein there are no titular or unreal (*factitii*) bishops; wherein the number is reduced of those Italian prelates who, by the quantity of their votes, outweigh all the other bishops of Europe put together."[2] The English Church thus awaits the decision of a lawful and free council; but m anwhile her position is not such as to cut her off from Catholicism. She has preserved the apostolic succession;[3] she main-

[1] "Nec enim *protestationis* illius vis alia, neque diutius vim habitura quam tantisper dum illa instaurentur apud vos quae sic temporum vitio hominum incuria abierunt in abusum" (*Responsio,* p. 26).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 216. Cp. pp. 450, 451: "Date legitimos arbitros in loco libero, aequis legibus; nec erit ulla in nobis mora."

[3] *Ibid.* p. 227.

tains the faith of the universal Church, not of Calvin;[1] she accepts the authority of the Church, "the pillar of the truth"—a pillar which hangs not in mid air, but has its basis and foundation in Scripture.[2] The voice of the ancient Church is her guide. As to other points, "what is sound she retains; what is old she restores; what newly emanates from Rome or Trent she refuses to accept as catholic."[3] Her eucharistic doctrine is primitive: "Withdraw your doctrine of transubstantiation, and we shall soon cease to contend about the sacrifice."[4] The Church of England retains, in fact, the full heritage of catholic belief and practice; and when Andrewes speaks of her authority, he means the moral authority of a society that has retained at least the essential traditions of the catholic body unbroken. Thus, in speaking of a practical point (the Church's observance of Lent), he says: "Hath she no interest in us, no power over us? . . . Is she in worse case than the synagogue? No, indeed. If Rechab might enjoin his sons, she may hers. She is our mother; she hath the power of a mother over us, and a mother hath power to give laws to her children. . . . This is sure: 'No man hath God to his Father that hath not the Church for his mother.' . . . He that grieves her, angers Him. And he cannot but grieve her that little sets by her wholesome orders. The apostle, we see—S. Paul by name, though he had been in the third heaven—yet he deferred to . . . the 'Church's custom,' and rests in it. We must learn to do the like."[5]

[1] "Tam non Calvinum quam neque Papam sequimur, ubi a patrum vestigiis hic vel ille discedit" (*Responsio*, p. 21).

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 208, 209, 347, 450, 457.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 163.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 250, 251.

[5] *Sermons*, vol. i. p. 391.

The difficulties of this position in the seventeenth century were not identical with those that confront us now. The conditions of the Roman controversy have altered; but we are only concerned here to describe what Andrewes' theory was, and how in the appeal to the primitive Church he found what satisfied him. In one form or another, the question which reappears in every stage of this barren and unprogressive dispute is that of authority—its real nature and its limits. So far as the problem presented itself to Andrewes, he found no insuperable difficulty in the conception of an authoritative tradition, preserved in the belief and practice of an organised body, making a claim on men both historic and moral: historic, because in essential points the Church is in the seventeenth century what she was in the first; moral, in making an appeal to reason, conscience, and will; stimulating and educating, not impairing or crushing, these faculties in the individual.

PART II

From the subject of authority Andrewes passes to another aspect of the controversy with Rome, and proceeds to consider the question of coercive jurisdiction. We have seen that in a period of confusion, such as that which necessarily followed the bold and startling experiment of the Reformation, the jurisdiction hitherto exercised by the papacy would naturally tend to fall into the hands of the sovereign, aided by his executive officers, civil and ecclesiastical. A large portion of the *Responsio* is devoted to a positive

defence of the royal supremacy, and in connection with this contains a bold criticism of the papal claims. The first of these two subjects would have interest for Andrewes as a churchman; the latter would touch him as a patriotic Englishman, living in days when theories, destructive of all monarchical government, were not only widely disseminated and sanctioned by popes, but were sometimes acted upon with terrible determination and effect. In the religious wars and assassinations of the period, "we see the real character of theories put forth by great and popular champions of Rome, and their fatal bearing on the primary conditions of human society."[1]

It has been observed with truth, that in relation to the best form of secular government, the Church is, "so to speak, frankly opportunist."[2] In the nineteenth century it is impossible to share those superstitious ideas of the divine right of monarchs which were natural and almost universal in the seventeenth. In times of upheaval and revolution, men turn instinctively to any institution which, in fact, remains stable and unshaken. When the barbarians were pouring into the Roman Empire in the fifth century, the eyes of civilised mankind turned to the Church; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the moral authority of the Church had been "strained till it broke,"[3] the sovereign power naturally appeared to be the only safeguard of the existing order, social and religious, the only institution invested with the requisite force, material and moral, to hold together

[1] Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 91.
[2] W. H. J. Campion, *Lux Mundi*, p. 440.
[3] Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 83.

the fabric of society. In England, especially, the tendency to appeal to the crown would be almost irresistible. In James the English Church found a patron for whom it might be fairly claimed, that his attachment to her cause was due not merely to self-interest, but in some measure also to intelligent sympathy, and a shrewd appreciation of her peculiar power and influence. The *Responsio*, accordingly, contains a spirited defence of the supremacy, on grounds which are open to historical tests. Andrewes claims for the crown a visitatorial power—the right to keep all persons and estates to their proper duties and functions; but in so doing he puts forward a claim fortified by centuries of prescription, and only disputed by the papacy in comparatively recent times.

We may notice that Andrewes concerns himself with only one aspect of the supremacy. He does not consider its bearing on the independence of national churches, or on the comparative rights of laity and spiritualty. He confines himself to dealing with Bellarmine's contention that the Act of Supremacy involved an invasion by the secular power of purely spiritual functions. On this point Andrewes' method is more important than his conclusions. He appeals to history. He brushes aside the calumnies which had been industriously circulated by Roman pamphleteers—*e.g.* the assertion that the supremacy was an article of faith. It is at most, he says, a right opinion (ὀρθὴ δόξα). It was not "invented by Henry VIII." It might more accurately be ascribed to Moses, who claimed superiority over Aaron.[1] The supremacy in

[1] Cp. Sermon II. of the Lent series (vol. ii. p. 16); and No. VII. of the occasional series (vol. v. p. 141).

the sense attached to the word by the English Church was, as a matter of fact, exercised by Jewish kings, by Christian emperors, and notably by former kings of England.[1] The sense of the whole community, the deliberate judgment of the old universities, and of all learned persons, discovered no novelty in this tenet.[2] All recognised the rightful authority of the monarch to regulate the external affairs of the Church.[3] In a sense the king is *Pastor Ecclesiae*, when he summons councils, confirms canons, corrects abuses, demands an account of his stewardship even from a pontiff.[4] He is "above the Church," in the sense of being its guardian and nursing father, and so far priests are inferior to kings. Tertullian describes even a heathen emperor as "solo Deo minor."[5] It scarcely needs to be observed that this theory rests entirely on the presumption that the monarch is, if not Christian, at least well disposed to the Church, and anxious to befriend and protect her. Few in Andrewes' day could have been expected to forecast the modern conditions which weaken or exclude this conception of monarchy. We may notice, too, the consistency of Andrewes: he does not shrink from maintaining that Anselm, Becket, and even Hugh of Lincoln, were worthy of blame in so far as they resisted the lawful claims of the sovereign.[6] They would have done better to follow S. Paul's example, who, standing at Cæsar's tribunal, insists that there "he *ought* to be judged" (Acts xxv. 10). If Bellarmine denies the

[1] *Responsio*, p. 27. [2] *Ibid.* p. 32. [3] *Ibid.* p. 444.
[4] Andrewes is speaking of Jewish precedents; see the passage, pp. 446, 447.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 97. [6] *Ibid.* p. 201.

obligation of submission to lawful kingly authority, he withstands Paul the apostle in order to gratify Paul the pope.[1]

Into the merits of Andrewes' argument it is not my purpose to enter. The problems that beset the whole question of the relations between Church and State scarcely existed for him; the modern complications of the subject were far distant and unforeseen. We have no right to find fault with him for not anticipating the conditions of a modern democratic State. His defence of the royal supremacy was one which the great majority of sensible men in his age would have accepted. The Reformation, which had vindicated the independence of the national Church, had been the means of restoring to the monarch, as well as to the hierarchy, functions hitherto usurped by an intruding authority. Incidentally, Andrewes meets other charges against the English Church which had already become fashionable in the Roman controversy, *e.g.*, those based on the character of the reformers, who were described as men "deformed by every kind of vice."[2] Here, again, Andrewes appeals with success to historical parallels. It was Jehu, a violent and bloodthirsty warrior, who purged Israel of Baal-worship; the heathen Cyrus who procured the restoration of the temple and its sacrifices. Again and again the Divine providence has used, or overruled, the crimes, mistakes, and imperfections of human instruments.

But an apology is not Andrewes' main object. He is more concerned to carry the war into the hostile camp, by setting forth clearly the positive ground of

[1] *Responsio*, p. 423. [2] *Ibid.* p. 43 foll.

that resistance to Roman pretensions which in those days seemed to be the plain duty of every Englishman who cared for the welfare of his country. He accordingly proceeds to examine the papal theory of the relation between Church and State. Bellarmine's view was that the State is not united to the Church by the moral link of goodwill, but by the bond of subjection and dependence. The Church should control the State "as the spirit controls the flesh." [1] On this assumption the temporal claim of the Roman see is based. Like Salmoneus,[2] the pope launches his thunderbolts against kingdoms, and claims that "the priesthood is exempt from all jurisdiction of princes." [3] Andrewes goes to the root of the assumption itself, which is made to rest on the commission to S. Peter. On that, the whole fabric of pretension is reared. Andrewes dismisses as a figment, as a mere fantasy, the idea of Peter's "supremacy" over the other apostles; of an "ordinary power" which he could transmit, as opposed to the "extraordinary apostolic powers" inherited by the papacy. He draws an effective contrast between the behaviour of popes and that of S. Peter. Paul V. presents his foot to be kissed by royal legates; Peter repels the centurion who would have done him homage, saying, "I also am a man." [4] The pope claims that kings are subjects to the Roman see; S. Peter bids his readers "submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme." The pope claims that princes are "sheep of the papal flock"; the charge to Peter is, "Feed—not *thy*, but—*My* sheep." [5] In short, the Roman

[1] *Responsio*, p. 82. [2] *Æneid*, vi. 585. [3] *Responsio*, p. 81.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 86, 87, 296, 298. [5] *Ibid.* pp. 17, 18; cp. p. 112.

theory contradicts Scripture; it is in harmony neither with the doctrine of S. Paul nor the practice of S. Peter, to whom the keys were never given "that he might build up the Church on the ruins of the State."[1] Further, it is opposed to the teaching of the ancient Church. "Certainly the Fathers exalt the priesthood; but with what intent? Is it that they may lower the dignity of Cæsar? Nay, but that they may stir themselves up the better to perform their own duty."[2] We need not follow Andrewes further in detail over the familiar ground which has to be occupied so often during the tedious progress of the Roman controversy.

But the *Responsio* is not devoted to mere disputation. It contains a heavy indictment of the papacy, which remains to-day, as then, unanswered. "The world," says Andrewes, "has long since learned who is the real disturber of catholic unity and peace." "It has learned that the Roman pontiff recks not how many he may sever from the Church—even if it be the whole of the East—so that his own pride may be gratified, and there may be occasion for the kissing of his feet."[3] It is he who has set kingdom against kingdom, and nation against nation; and who has inflicted untold miseries on his own country. Does not Petrarch describe Italy as if in his own time it were a very throne of Satan?[4] It is the pontiff who shares the guilt of the ancient Donatists, by narrowing down the catholic fold to a single spot;[5] he who makes resistance to his own pretensions a heresy;[6] he who would

[1] "Ut aedificaret ecclesiam in ruinis reipublicae."
[2] *Responsio*, p. 118. [3] *Ibid.* p. 90. [4] *Ibid.* p. 154.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 159. [6] *Ibid.* p. 175.

make a spiritual primacy the pretext for an earthly tyranny;[1] he who arrogates a title which the great Gregory called "profane"—that of "universal bishop,"[2] and who loves to style himself "servant," but to be addressed by his fellow-men as "lord." It is he, in short, who by his interference with the relations between a king and his people "dissolves the natural ties of innate fidelity, and claims a power to dispense with laws which are the bond of nature and of society."[3] It is only a logical step beyond this, when Andrewes, with his exalted ideas of the divine right of monarchy, defends the view that the pope is Antichrist himself, and favours the assertion of Irenæus that the number of the beast represents the word *Λατεῖνος*.[4]

In all this line of thought, Andrewes is chiefly concerned to defend the privileges of a Christian and catholic prince against a usurping power. He therefore reserves his sternest and most vehement language for the policy which the Roman Church had followed in England since the accession of Elizabeth—its tortuous intrigues, its connivance at detestable treason. He reaffirms a good deal that he had said in the *Tortura* as to the degree of complicity in the powder plot that must be attributed to the pope, and the excuses openly put forward on behalf of the conspirators. Of the sanctity of the seal of confession he speaks as such a man would—with grave reserve, with a due sense of the proportion of things, and with

[1] *Responsio*, p. 299. [2] *Ibid.* p. 386. [3] *Ibid.* p. 465.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 405 f. Several chapters are devoted to a discussion of the king's interpretation of the Apocalypse, but they are not interesting.

a firm conviction that an ecclesiastical rule cannot in the last resort be incompatible with fundamental moral obligations.[1] When Garnet is represented as a martyr, "religion is made a pretext for rebellion."

The ground, then, of resistance to the papacy was, in the main, political. But, incidentally, the *Responsio* touches on the practical corruptions which made reunion with Rome impossible: the cult of the Blessed Virgin, as it appears, for instance, in Bonaventura's Psalter to the Virgin;"[2] the denial of the cup to the laity; the exclusion of the vulgar tongues from the liturgy; the system of indulgences;[3] jubilees, instituted "that the threshold of the apostles might be trodden, but never trodden without cost;"[4] the baptism of bells; relic worship, etc. This had been the line adopted by the first reformers, who found themselves face to face with an immense practical system, deeply corrupt in many details, yet sheltering itself behind the authority of the primitive Church, as if all that was Roman was *ipso facto* catholic.

The remoteness of the circumstances makes it unnecessary to go at greater length into this polemical discussion. It is important, however, to remark that Andrewes was keenly alive to the difficulties and practical anomalies of the system in which he lived and worked. "There are some things," he tells du Moulin, "which we teach not, but have to endure; which we cannot be rid of, but must bear. He who

[1] See *Responsio*, pp. 437–439.

[2] Cp. the *Answer to Perron*, v. 20, especially pp. 75–80; and see Casaubon's diary quoted by Bliss, p. lxxx.

[3] Indulgences: "Inter turpilucria pontificum, inter gravamina nationum" (p. 395).

[4] P. 396.

tolerates does not necessarily approve."[1] In the same spirit he quotes Augustine, "*Aliud est quod docemus; aliud quod sustinemus.*"[2] In the *Devotions* he prays for "the British Church—the supply of what is wanting in it; the strengthening of the things that remain and are ready to die." He was conscious, as S. Bernard was in his day, as a good man must be in any age of Church history, that the order of things in which he is called to play his part is marred by the shortcomings and imperfections that attend on human life, and all that it produces. He does not shrink from facing the facts as they are. But he prefers dispensing with a complete and consistent theory to denying the work of the Holy Ghost. It is a line of thought and action which has applications beyond the limits of the Roman question.[3]

On the more thoughtful observers of his day, Andrewes' work left the impression that it would have an important effect on the future course of religious controversy. "I persuade myself," writes Harrington, "that whensoever it shall please God to give the king means, with consent of his confederate princes, to make that great peace which his blessed word, *Beati pacifici*, seemeth to promise — I mean the ending of this great schism in the Church of God, procured as much by ambition as superstition—this reverend prelate will be found one of the ablest, not of England

[1] *Ep.* iii. *ad P. Molin.* Cp. *Ep.* i. s. fin.

[2] *C. Faust.* xx. 21.

[3] He speaks of things "male abolitas, publicam ἐξομολόγησιν et privatam auricularem" (*Notes on the Book of Common Prayer.* Bliss, *Minor Works, Life,* etc., p. 151).

only, but of Europe, to set the course for composing the controversies."[1] It scarcely seems probable that this forecast will be literally realised. But it is safe to assert that the best hope of reunion between the Churches of England and Rome lies in the cultivation on both sides of such a spirit of candour in dealing with history, of openness in acknowledging faults and shortcomings, of zeal for moral principles and religious truth, as we find in the controversial writings of bishop Andrewes.

[1] Bliss, p. xxxviii.

CHAPTER X

THE *DEVOTIONS*[1]

In Andrewes' best known and best loved work, the *Manual of Private Devotions*, we find what invariably commands attention and interest—the secret of a good life. We learn what were the deepest springs of thought and action, what the surest source of strength and comfort, to one whose lot was cast in slippery places and troubled times, and whose work had to be done amid the stir of controversy and the manifold distractions of a public career. Behind the outward life of absorbing controversy, of court attendances, of necessary public engagements, exacting social duties and official business, was concealed the hidden life of worship, self-discipline, and self-consecration. We are conscious, as we open the *Devotions*, of passing into a sanctuary where Andrewes found refuge from the pressure of anxieties that weighed heavily on the heart of an English churchman in those days. There was very much in the existing state of Christendom, and especially of the English Church, that must have

[1] For a careful account of the most important MSS. and additions of the *Devotions*, see the Rev. Canon Medd's *Greek Devotions of Lancelot Andrewes* (S.P.C.K.). Also the *Minor Works, Life*, etc., *of Bishop Andrewes* (Bliss), p. lxxiii. foll., and Appendix D (below).

filled a devout and gentle spirit with profound distress. The great political disasters that impended over the Throne and the Church were already darkening the horizon; the state of the court and of society was such as might well dishearten and dismay one in whose view the fortunes of Church and monarchy seemed to be providentially united. But there was a refuge. Andrewes' life owes its chief characteristics, its unfailing serenity, its calm evenness, its laborious industry, to the fact that "his life was a life of prayer." "A great part of five hours every day" he spent upon his knees.[1]

The loving care expended by the bishop on his *Devotions*, which were not apparently compiled with any view to publication, show that he regarded the act of prayer as "the proper end and object"—the noblest exercise — of the faculty of speech.[2] In literary composition he is said to have been somewhat slow and hesitating.[3] His sermons are more like full notes for a preacher's use than written discourses. But in his prayers, and especially in his thanksgivings, there is something of that continuous flow and poetical structure which we miss in his other writings; there is what corresponds to the Latin word *oratio*, a diffuseness and fulness which in other cases he does not allow himself.

The devotional works of Andrewes include a *Manual of directions for the sick*, which was first edited in

[1] Buckeridge, *Funeral Sermon:* "Vita eius vita orationis, etc."

[2] Dr. Mozley in *British Critic*, vol. xxxi. p. 191.

[3] "Lente et cunctanter ad scribendum [accessit]. Huius sive tarditatis, sive morae non ingenii hebetudo aliqua sed cautio nimia et pensitatio in causa fuit" (Ep. Dedic. ad *Opuscula*).

1648 by Richard Drake, who states that it was "conceived and used" by the bishop in his ordinary visitation of the sick as vicar of S. Giles', Cripplegate. It is remarkable for its very practical aim and spirit. The sick need to have the way of repentance taught them simply and systematically. Repentance is not "a matter any common man can skill of well enough"; but one "wherein we need the counsel and direction of such as are professed that way."[1] In their penitential spirit, these beautiful and simple devotions, like the *Private Prayers*, reflect the tone of the Prayer-Book, and indeed largely consist of passages from the Psalter. It is characteristic of the bishop's conscientious thoroughness, that he should have compiled with his own hand a book to assist him in duties which some might have regarded as a very subordinate part of his work, but which to him were sacred and worthy of his best thought and pains.

The *Private Devotions* were first carefully translated and published by Drake a few months after the *Manual for the sick*. The edition was prepared from a transcript, but the far more complete original[2] has only lately been edited. It is this copy which Drake describes as "happy in the glorious deformity thereof, being slubbered with his pious hands, and watered with his penitential tears." It appears to have been given by Andrewes, shortly before his death, to Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells; while he

[1] A quotation from one of Andrewes' sermons in Drake's preface.

[2] See Canon Medd's account of it. Its main characteristic, as compared with the transcript, is the number of passages from the Hebrew. This original MS. is in the possession of the Rev. R. G. Livingstone, of Pembroke College, Oxford.

was in health, and "was in private," the book was seldom seen out of his hands."[1] It may be said, therefore, to disclose to us the bishop's inmost self: "the highest frames of thought and feeling in a mind of wide range, and a soul of the keenest self-knowledge and the strongest sympathies."[2] We have also something more, namely, an expression in a representative book of the true tone and character which the English Church aims at forming in her children: largeness of sympathy, self-restraint, soberness, fervour, the spirit of "continuous but not unhopeful penitence."[3] The book brings us into the most intimate contact with one who, besides being a great scholar and a great prelate, a favoured courtier, a highly-placed dignitary, was one who "wholly spent himself and his studies and estate in these sacrifices—in prayer and the praise of God, and compassion and works of charity—as if he had minded nothing else all his life long but this, to offer himself, his soul and body, a contrite and a broken heart, a pitiful and compassionate heart, and a thankful and grateful heart"[4] to his Creator.

Andrewes' *Devotions* impress us chiefly, as the *Sermons* do, by the character and temper which they reveal; but they are also instructive, and have an educational value, as forms of prayer.

I. In the first place, they are admirable examples of the value of method, system, and order in private prayer. All the several parts of prayer are repre-

[1] Buckeridge, *Funeral Sermon.*

[2] Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 101.

[3] This is a striking expression of the bishop of Derry's.

[4] Buckeridge, *Funeral Sermon* (Andrewes' *Sermons*, vol. v. p. 288).

sented: confession, petition for grace, profession of faith, intercession, praise. The short introduction to each day's devotions consists of a brief memorial of the great works of creation that belong to the day: on Sunday, the creation of the light is commemorated; on Friday, the making of man; on Saturday, the rest of the Creator. With this is generally combined a thanksgiving for some one of the blessings of revelation and redemption. Thus the sanctity of time itself, and of its natural divisions, is recognised. The thought of the harmony between the natural and spiritual world—in other words, the sacramental idea of the universe—kindles and elevates the mind of the worshipper; helps him to feel his kinship with all created things, the blessedness and mystery of the gift of life, the priestly or representative relation in which man, as man, stands to the rest of God's works.

"Blessed art Thou, O Lord,
Who broughtest forth of the earth wild beasts, cattle,
and all the reptiles,
for food, clothing, help;
and madest man after Thine image, to rule the earth,
and blessedst him.
The fore-counsel, fashioning hand,
breath of life, image of God,
appointment over the works,
charge to the angels concerning him,
Paradise.

Heart, reins, eyes, ears, tongue, hands, feet,
life, sense, reason, spirit, free will,
memory, conscience,
the revelation of God, writing of the law,
oracles of prophets, music of psalms,
instruction of proverbs, experience of histories,
worship of sacrifices."[1]

[1] Sixth day, *Introduction* (Dr. Newman's translation).

Dr. Mozley draws attention to the poetical vein apparent in these introductions, which gives them the character of primitive hymns, full of joyous and free delight in nature as the handiwork of God, reflecting in its beauty and harmony the attributes of its Maker—

"There are the depths, and the sea as on an heap,
lakes, rivers, springs,
earth, continent and isles,
mountains, hills, and valleys;
glebe, meadows, glades,
green pasture, corn, and hay
herbs and flowers
for food, enjoyment, medicine;
fruit trees bearing
wine, oil, and spices,
and trees for wood;
and things beneath the earth,
stones, metals, minerals, coal,
blood and fire and vapour of smoke."[1]

These and similar introductions, contemplating nature as a harmonious and ordered *cosmos*, suggest the thought of a due and seemly order in devotion; when man has found his true centre, and is engaged in the highest function of his reasonable soul—worship, his approach to God should display the marks of all the processes of nature; a fixed succession, a sober and regulated movement. As he lies prostrate before the Eternal beauty and holiness, his first impulse is to make confession—acknowledgment of his misery, frailty, and wretchedness. The appeal in Andrewes' confessions is usually, as in the psalms, that of a creature appealing first to creative power and compassion, then to redemptive love.

[1] Third day, *Introduction*; cp. Mozley, *British Critic*, vol. xxxi. p. 189.

"O remember what my substance is,
the work of Thine hands,
the likeness of Thy countenance,
the cost of Thy blood,
a name from Thy Name,
a sheep of Thy pasture,
a son of the covenant.
Despise not Thou the work of Thine own hands.
Hast Thou made for nought
Thine own image and likeness?
for nought, if Thou destroy it."

Again—

"But now, O Lord, Thou art our Father;
we are clay, all Thy handiwork.
Be not wroth very sore,
nor remember iniquity for ever."[2]

But man is a creature redeemed; and so the lowliest confession of frailty gives place to the passionate, appealing cry of a soul which the love of God has visited and redeemed.

"Set not, O Lord, set not my misdeeds before Thee,
nor my life in the light of Thy countenance,
but pardon the iniquity of Thy servant,
according to Thy great mercy;
as Thou hast been merciful to him from a child,
even so now."[3]

The confession is followed by prayer for grace, generally an exquisite adaptation of passages from Scripture—the beatitudes (Fifth day), for instance; the fruits and gifts of the Spirit (Sixth day); the decalogue paraphrased or summarised (First and Second day). And petition is followed in its turn by profession of faith—a recital of the great truths of the faith, generally in the form of a rhythmical

[1] First day. [2] Fourth day. [3] Second day.

expansion of the Apostles' creed, set forth in its relation to the needs and hopes of man. An instance of this is to be found in the *Devotions* for the Fourth day—

"In Jesus, salvation,
in Christ, anointing;
in the only begotten Son, sonship;
in the Lord, a master's treatment;
in His conception and birth,
the cleansing of our unclean conception and birth;
in His sufferings, which we owed,
that we might not pay;
in His cross, the curse of the law removed;
in His death, the sting of death;
in His burial, eternal destruction in the tomb;
in His descent, whither we ought,
that we might not go;
in His resurrection, as the first-fruits of them that sleep;
in His ascent, to prepare a place for us;
in His sitting, to appear and intercede;
in His return, to take unto Him His own;
in His judgment, to render to each
according to his works."

Then follows, as the fitting exercise of the reconciled, grace-endowed, believing soul, the intercession for others, with its wonderful minuteness and fulness, its large-hearted survey of the Church and the world, its presentation of the needs of individuals, of classes, of nations. And finally comes the outburst of praise and exultation at the thought of God's greatness, awfulness, and goodness towards man.

"Blessed be the glory of the Lord
out of His place,
for His Godhead, His mysteriousness,
His height, His sovereignty, His almightiness,
His eternity, His providence.[1]
. . . . . .

[1] First day.

Glory be to Thee, O Lord, glory to Thee . . .
for all Thy divine perfections in them.
For Thine incomprehensible and
unimaginable goodness;
and Thy pity towards sinners . . .
and towards me of all sinners
far the most unworthy."[1]

II. The orderliness and systematic arrangement of Andrewes' *Devotions* is the outcome of a patient spiritual discipline—a severe self-repression, due no doubt in part to an English reserve and dread of display. If, however, we penetrate deeper, we seem to find a clue to many features of Andrewes' character in the depth and reality of his penitence. Penitence is often the unsuspected secret of joyousness, simplicity, evenness of mind, the childlike spirit, and thoughtful tenderness for others. No one who uses the *Devotions* can fail to be struck by their penitential tone. In the Latin *Devotions*, the authenticity of which, however, is questionable, this is specially marked; these *Devotions* are almost exclusively a manual of penitence; they consist mainly of acts of deprecation, of pleading, of confession, considerations as to the aggravations of sin, and profound acts of self-abasement at the thought of defects in penitence. In his *Notes on the Book of Common Prayer*[2] is contained a commentary on the general confession, which illustrates the habit of the bishop's mind—

Most merciful Father	mercy itself.
. . . . .	
we have left undone	not done at all.
we have done	done nothing but.

[1] Third day.

[2] See *Minor Works, Life*, etc., p. 141 foll.

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there is no health	no hope of health.
miserable offenders	yea, most miserable.
that be penitent	that desire to be penitent, wish they were, would be glad if they were so, fear they are not enough, are sorry that they are no more.

So in an act of confession which is included in the Latin *Devotions*,[1] and is probably to be traced to Andrewes—

"I do in a sort repent: I fear me not sufficiently. I would that it were more; I should rejoice were it more; I grieve that it is no more. For I wish that I could more, and grieve that I can no more. I confess that my very grief is to be lamented, and I grieve that it is thus to be lamented. . . . Do Thou, O Lord, give me the power; if Thou wilt, Thou canst: Thou canst turn even the hard rock into a pool. Give tears: give a fountain of waters to my head. . . . Give me, O Lord, this grace. None were more welcome to me; neither riches, nor all the good things of this world were to be coveted in comparison of tears; tears such as Thou didst give David of old, or Jeremiah, S. Peter, or S. Mary Magdalene. At least, give me a dropping eye; let me not altogether be a flint. . . . But if I cannot gain this much, woe is me! like a pumice, like very lime, fervent in cold water; careless of my state where I least ought to be so; without feeling; mourning enough when there is no occasion: cold, arid, dead, where there is the greatest."

In the (authentic) Greek *Devotions* there is the same deep consciousness of sin—

"Hear, O Lord, and have mercy upon me.
Lord, be Thou my helper;
turn my heaviness into joy,
my dreamings into earnestness,
my falls into clearings of myself,
my guilt, my offence, into indignation,
my sin into fear,
my transgression into vehement desire,
my unrighteousness into strictness,
my pollution into revenge."[2]

Similarly, in the evening prayers we find a series

[1] See the advertisement to Part II. in Dr. Newman's edition, and *Minor Works*, *Life*, etc., p. lxxiii. [2] Third day, *Confession*.

of short, piercing cries as of an agonising soul, the general effect of which is best seen in the original—

ἐκ βαθέων κράζει σοι ἡ ψυχή μου,
ἥμαρτον, Κύριε, σοι, ἥμαρτον δεινά σοι,
εἆ, εἆ, φεῦ, φεῦ, ὦ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας.
μετανοῶ, οἴμοι, μετανοῶ· φεῖσαί μου, Κύριε,
μετανοῶ, οἴμοι, μετανοῶ,
βοήθει σὺ τῷ μου ἀμετανοήτῳ.
Ἵλεως ἴσθι. Φεῖσαί μου, Κύριε,
Ἵλεως ἴσθι. Ἐλέησόν με.[1]

The same passionate and vivid energy shows itself in the *Devotions* that is so striking in the *Sermons;* the same undercurrent of emotion that seems to break out now and then and appear on the surface, surprising us by its intensity and depth. We seem almost to *hear* in such a passage as that just quoted, the cry of distress that is wrung from a soul intensely conscious of its need and misery. It may be said, in fact, that the dominant note in Andrewes' prayers is that of contrition. Nor is the penitence only personal. It is part of Andrewes' sense of responsibility as a member of a great Church and nation that makes his acts of penitence inclusive of others. Thus he prays—

"Turn us, O Lord, to Thee,
and so shall we be turned.
Turn us from all our ungodliness.
. . . . .
Lord, to us confusion of face,
and to our rulers
who have sinned against Thee.
Lord, in all things is Thy righteousness,
unto all Thy righteousness;
let then Thine anger and Thy fury be turned away,
and cause Thy face to shine
upon Thy servant."[2]

[1] Medd, p. 171. [2] Fifth day.

In fact, we find the same tendency as in the Hebrew psalmists to interchange the singular with the plural: "help me" with "help us"; *ἐπίστρεψον ἐμέ* with *δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸ ἔλεός σου*.[1]

III. The intercessions are peculiarly valuable as models; they borrow largely and freely from the ancient liturgies, and they have something of their majestic richness and fulness of detail. What is most striking is the width of sympathy and interest, the large-heartedness displayed in them. "There is no class of men, no condition, no relation of life, no necessity or emergency of it, which does not at one time or another rise up before his memory and claim his intercession; none for which he does not see a place in the order of God's world, and find a refuge under the shadow of His wing."[2] He casts his eyes over the varied needs and perils of civilised society; the different classes of which it is composed, from the highest to the lowest; the different estates and conditions of men, their mutual relations of dependence or service; the great divisions of Christendom; above all, the down-trodden, oppressed, forgotten individuals who are apt to be overlooked in a comprehensive survey of the mass. He pleads for all who

> "from stress of engagements . . .
> on sufficient reasons fail to call upon Thee;
> for all who have no intercessor in their own behalf;
> for all who at present are in agony
> of extreme necessity or deep affliction."[3]

Perhaps the most beautiful and tender passage in the entire manual is the following:—

[1] Sixth day. [2] Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 104.
[3] Second day.

"Remember, Lord,
infants, children, the grown, the young,
the middle-aged, the old,
hungry, thirsty, naked, sick,
prisoners, foreigners, friendless, unburied,
all in extreme age and weakness,
possessed with devils and tempted to suicide,
troubled by unclean spirits,
the hopeless, the sick in soul or body, the weak-hearted,
all in prison and chains, all under sentence of death;
orphans, widows, foreigners, travellers, voyagers,
women with child, women who give suck,
all in bitter servitude, or mines, or galleys,
or in loneliness."[1]

We can hardly fail to notice the tenderness and thoughtfulness that twice prays for foreigners, and twice for those in prison; that surveys the great mass of suffering humanity with the keen eye of pastoral compassion, and commends all sorts and conditions of men to their Creator with trustful faith. Indeed, no one can habitually use the *Devotions* without having his sense of responsibility deepened—his sense of being a debtor to classes with whom his work does not necessarily bring him into personal contact; his duty to plead

"for those who have place in the court,
for parliament and judicature,
army and police,
commons and their leaders,
farmers, graziers, fishers, merchants,
traders, and mechanics,
down to mean workmen and the poor;
for the rising generation;
for the good nurture of all the royal family,
of the young ones of the nobility;
for all in universities, in inns of court,
in schools in town or country,
in apprenticeships."[2]

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[1] First day. [2] Second day.

These illustrations show us that intercessory prayer is a habit which practically educates a man in sympathy, and broadens his interests, without impairing his imagination or his apprehension of particular needs and conditions. For deep insight into human life, few petitions are more striking than the prayer

> "for thankfulness and sobriety in all
> who are hearty, healthy, prosperous, quiet
> men and women."[1]

Few, again, are more generous than the supplication

> "for those who hate me without cause;
> some, too, even on account of truth and righteousness."[2]

Few more comprehensive than that for

> "good seasons, wholesome weather,
> full crops, plenteous fruits,
> health of body, peaceful times,
> mild government, kind laws,
> wise councils, equal judgments,
> loyal obedience, vigorous justice,
> fertility in resources, fruitfulness in begetting,
> ease in bearing, happiness in offspring,
> careful nurture, sound training."[2]

Indeed, apart from the beauty and poetic form of these intercessions, which are so happily reproduced in Dr. Newman's translation, they are models of the true sacerdotal spirit, to which all that touches man, or throws light on the mystery of his being and destiny, is precious and interesting; which recognises its obligation to plead on behalf of "all the race of men," *ὑπὲρ γένους ἡμετέρου ἅπαντος*.[3]

[1] Second day. [2] Third day. [3] Second day.

IV. The daily prayers for each day of the week end with an act of praise, and here the spirit of worship reaches its height; the language of prayer culminates in passages of "rhythmical flow and music," "bursts of adoration and eucharistic triumph,"[1] in which Andrewes' essentially poetic way of regarding the mysteries of faith finds a glowing and beautiful expression.[2] We have noticed in the *Sermons* Andrewes' studious endeavour to bring out the actual content of revealed doctrines; his unwillingness to dwell on points of speculative divinity. In the *Devotions*, his theology, with its firm outlines, its clear proportions, its breadth, its freedom, is translated into the language of worship. The world of controversy and the actual forlorn condition of the Church is forgotten, and the bishop surrenders himself to the thought of the greatness and awfulness of what he defends and loves, the creed of the Holy Catholic Church. "For confusion they shall rejoice in their portion"[3]—such might be the motto of the thanksgivings with which the *Devotions* day by day conclude. For Andrewes it is the highest aspiration to have his place in the Church—

> "In the Holy Catholic Church
> to have my own calling, and holiness, and portion,
> and a fellowship
> of her sacred rites and prayers,
> fastings and groans,
> vigils, tears, and sufferings,
> for assurance of remission of sins,
> for hope of resurrection and translation
> to eternal life."[4]

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[1] Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 104.
[2] Cp. Mozley, *British Critic*, vol. xxxi. p. 190 foll.
[3] Isa. lxi. 7. [4] First day, *Profession*.

He is penetrated by the thought of the grace and glory of his calling. He blesses the watchful providence which has guided and guarded his footsteps

> "from childhood, youth, and hitherto,
> even unto age."

He gives thanks for the gift of repentance, "the power of the thrice-holy keys, and the mysteries in the Church"; for the marvels of redemptive love; the actual work of God in the world, the "ever-memorable converse of His saints," "the overwhelming conversion of all lands to the obedience of faith," for the unspeakable glory of God manifested in His servants in every age—

> "For the all-honourable senate of the Patriarchs,
> the ever-venerable band of the Prophets,
> the all-glorious college of the Apostles,
> the Evangelists,
> the all-illustrious army of the Martyrs,
> the Confessors,
> the assembly of Doctors,
> the Ascetics,
> the beauty of Virgins;
> for Infants, the delight of the world;
> for their faith, their hope,
> their labours, their truth,
> their blood, their zeal,
> their diligence, their tears,
> their purity, their beauty."[1]

It is sometimes said that the English temperament is defective in the capacity for joy: of Andrewes this would not be true. One grace at least in which his *Devotions* are conspicuous, is that of self-forgetful joy. He would not allow himself to be

[1] Seventh day.

depressed either by his weak health, or by the loneliness of a celibate life. The actual distresses of the Church fade from his thoughts as he gazes up steadfastly into heaven. What God is and what He has wrought is enough to banish gloom and fear, misgiving and despondency—

> "Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men,
> and He will dwell with them;
> and they shall be His people,
> and God Himself shall be with them,
> and shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.
> And there shall be no more death;
> neither crying, neither pain any more,
> for the former things are passed away." [1]

With these words the devotions of the week close. They are the inspired expression of those emotions of exultation, adoration, and awe which Divine revelation awakens in a saintly heart. As regards Andrewes, these outbursts of feeling are enough to show "how real and deeply held his theology was"; they also explain "that persuasiveness of conviction which has as much to do as intellectual force and breadth in making men listen to their teachers, and accept their words." [2]

It was once said of him that he was "Doctor Andrewes" in the schools, "Bishop Andrewes" in the pulpit, but in his chamber "Saint Andrewes." The true source of his effectiveness in teaching and in witnessing for his Master was the sustained and systematic life of prayer. What he said and taught touched the hearts and consciences of men, because to him prayer was the most important duty, and the purest delight of human life.

[1] Seventh day (close). [2] Church, *Masters in English Theology*, p. 105.

CHAPTER XI

A CONCLUDING SURVEY

We have finished our survey of Andrewes' life and literary work; but, in order to establish his right to be considered a leader of religion, it remains to show that he did much more than supply a temporary need and meet a particular emergency. The question arises, whether he can claim to have represented any great and permanent principles of true religious thought.

Apart from the significant appeal to history in which Andrewes is a pioneer, and which was pregnant with consequences so far-reaching, the value of his work appears to lie chiefly in two characteristics of his teaching.

First, there is his clear sense of the "proportion of faith." When the English Church is criticised for her lack of authority, and it is asserted that "it is impossible for an unlearned man to find out from the Church of England what he is to believe," it is usually implied that on points in dispute between different bodies of Christians she speaks with an uncertain voice; that she does not know her own mind; and that her representative divines give conflicting testimony. But it is seldom adequately acknowledged, although

the fact is patent, that the English Church draws a distinct line in her teaching between truths of fundamental or primary importance, and those which are of secondary rank. She distinguishes, in fact, between degrees of authority. The great doctrines contained in the creeds, and expanded in the first five articles, stand on a level of their own; they are of plenary authority, because they are of first importance. On these truths the teaching voice of the English Church is identical with that of the Church universal; on these she pronounces without the faintest hesitation or desire for compromise. The authority for them is the continuous tradition of a witnessing body, which has been one and the same throughout the ages. There is no conflict of testimony, no "diametrically opposite" doctrine as to the truth of our Lord's Divinity, the judgment to come, the existence of the Holy Catholic Church, the availing power of Christ's work "for us and for our salvation." It is in regard to points of secondary importance that the weight of Church authority is perceptibly smaller. No man who has any measure of the historical sense will pretend that there is the same degree of support in Church tradition for any one view of the mode of the eucharistic Presence, or of the exact state of the departed, as there is for the doctrine of the incarnation, or for the truth of the resurrection and judgment to come. An Englishman's complaint against the Roman Church is that she is deficient in the true sense of relative proportion between doctrines. Her formulated system fails to reflect the plain fact that outside the area of saving faith there are various points as to which primary authority—*e.g.* a definite conciliar

decree, or a precise statement of Scripture—is lacking. In this particular point Andrewes may be said to fairly represent the mind of the English Church. He draws a cautious distinction between what is certainly *de fide* and what is matter of opinion; between what is a matter of Divine precept and what merely a pious usage. Moreover, by the prominent position he assigns in his preaching to the fundamental mysteries of the catholic faith, he restores them to the true place of honour they should occupy in Christian thought and consciousness. On the other hand, he deprecates the inquisitive temper that is ever asking for authoritative decisions on points of speculation or practice; he protests against the tendency to invest such decisions with undue significance. He feels that revelation is very far from containing an answer to all possible questions, even as to matters which might seem *à priori* to belong to her sphere. The "over-articulated" creed of Rome is based on the unwarranted assumption that God has given us in His Church what as a matter of fact He has withheld, namely, authoritative guidance on all or most of the subjects which are matters of inquiry or dispute among religious men. It was the work of Andrewes—and no slight service it was—to lead men back from the maze of fruitless controversy to the revealed "paths of peace"; to insist on the infinite greatness and importance of what the Church decisively teaches as to God's Being and His relations to mankind; on the power of clearly revealed truths to satisfy legitimate cravings, and to educate spiritual character. What he persistently deprecates is the readiness to multiply definitions; the temper, whether displayed by church-

man or puritan, which intrudes into the secret things of God, and for the sake of intellectual satisfaction rounds off a system by unproved speculations or confident dogmatism. Thus Andrewes may be said to anticipate the practical teaching, though not, of course, the logical method, of bishop Butler, in so far as he recalls the religious mind of his day to the contemplation of fundamental verities; dwells on the limitations of human knowledge and capacity; and emphasises the fact that *à priori* ideas of what must be contained in revelation are inevitably misleading.[1] He rebukes that spirit which is so common even among devout people, and so often leads to restlessness, dissatisfaction, and change of belief—the impatience of uncertainty, and the importunate cry for guidance and assurance beyond the limit that is strictly necessary for the discipline of will and character. It is needless to enlarge on this point, which has been already noticed in the sketch of the bishop's preaching (*supra*, chap. viii. p. 132 foll.), to which the reader is referred.

Again, Andrewes' example seems to teach the importance of avoiding needless exaggeration of our internal differences and divisions. It is possible to make too much of them, and so to play into the hands of the controversialist, who triumphantly insists that the Church of England is a house divided against itself, and therefore "cannot stand." It is clear that this oft-repeated comment requires considerable modification, in view of the certain fact that the Church has not only held her ground, but has displayed a constant and vigorous tendency to become more consolidated in

[1] Cp. the concluding remarks of Dr. Sanday, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 427, 428.

opinion, more tenacious of her catholic heritage, more expansive in her activities. The language of Andrewes about the puritans, to which reference has been already made (p. 114), is highly instructive. It displays the bishop's uniform desire to make the most of points of agreement. "In their doctrine," he declares, "the puritans are sufficiently orthodox." He is thinking of the maintenance of the catholic creed as the chief article of a standing or falling Church. To this, matters of discipline, and even of regimen, as he implies, are relatively subordinate. What he seems to find reassuring, even in the conflict of religious opinions, is the sense that different parties in most cases represent complementary aspects of truth. The Romanist represents these complementary aspects as mutually exclusive. The terms "catholic" and "Protestant," it is insisted, involve a contradiction in terms. "A Church cannot be partly catholic and partly protestant. If not wholly the former, it is *ipso facto* utterly the latter." Andrewes anticipates and repudiates this shallow misconception. He points out the unpalatable fact that the same person may be at once catholic and protestant. The term "catholic" implies a creed and a discipline which the English churchman professes and maintains. The term "protestant" denotes a temporary attitude which he is compelled to adopt—that of one who appeals from the verdict of a particular Church to the judgment of the Church universal. The attitude will be abandoned so soon as a lawful council shall have determined the questions in dispute between different branches of the Church. So, in regard to the present divisions of the English Church, the principle which guided

Andrewes has an obvious application. One great section of churchmen devotes itself, perhaps too exclusively, to the defence of subjective aspects of religious truth—the doctrine of individual responsibility, justification, and personal conversion; the right of immediate access to God in Christ. But the wider "catholic" conception of the Christian faith forfeits the name if it undervalues or ignores these distinctively evangelical truths. The truly catholic mind is that which most completely grasps the complementary sides of truth: on the one hand, God's objective work of saving grace, and the system of mediation by which a way is divinely opened for the reunion of man with God; on the other hand, the subjective process of salvation, the faith of man appropriating God's gifts and responding to His revealed purpose. If salvation be at once the result of Divine power, and of a moral process or movement on man's part, it is not to be a matter of astonishment or dismay —still less of reproach—that different aspects of a complex truth should be in danger of exaggeration, according as differently constituted minds over-emphasise one particular point of view. But the history of the English Church on the whole is reassuring, as showing that where such divergencies of view can be held in moderate restraint, the net result is a continuous growth both of zeal in Christian activity and of mutual charity and goodwill.

There are two features of the Roman attack which betray the weakness of the aggressive movement, and surely warrant a steady persistence in the attitude of protest. First, the refusal of the Romish Church to make any acknowledgment of past fault or short-

coming. There is no more striking symptom than this of the inherent falsity of the Roman claim. There is a correspondence between the intellectual pretensions of that great Church and the moral temper with which they are put forward for acceptance. In that exclusive claim, that imperious self-assertion, that unbending insistance on submission, that jealousy of the rights of the individual conscience, we look in vain for the tokens of the joint presence of love and truth.[1]

Secondly, we are repelled by Rome's use of un-Christian weapons, ridicule, wilful misrepresentation, insincerity in dealing with history, constant shifting of the ground of attack, the cold and scoffing spirit of haughty contempt. The Church of Rome has much to teach us, both as to methods of Christian work and the spirit of true self-sacrifice. We can ungrudgingly admire her devotion, her courage, her zeal; and it is a comfort to believe that the bitter attacks of petty controversialists do not necessarily represent the mind of the great body of devout Roman Catholics. But so far as the Roman Church takes public notice of the great communities, Eastern and Western, which stand aloof from her, there is something in her invariable tone that wounds humility and offends gentleness; something in her pretensions that grates upon the ear of sincere seekers after truth; something in her claim to authoritative power of guidance that does violence to our knowledge of God's ways, and to the moral constitution of man.

The relentless vehemence of the Roman attack on the English Church was not without its effect on

[1] 1 Cor. xiii. 6, *ἡ ἀγάπη συγχαίρει τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.*

waverers in bishop Andrewes' days as in our own. But, while some gave way to the pressure, he seems never to have felt any misgivings. With his wide and accurate knowledge, his devout and holy temper, his deep spiritual aspirations, he yet found himself at home in the Church of his baptism. His example shows that the character which she aims at forming in her children is essentially akin to the spirit of the ancient Church of Christ. The life of Lancelot Andrewes is thus one for which we may thank God and take courage.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SPECIMENS OF THE POSITIVE TEACHING OF BISHOP ANDREWES ON POINTS IN DISPUTE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND ROME.

I. Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.

"As to the Real Presence we are agreed; our controversy is as to the *mode* of it. The Presence we believe to be real, as you do. As to the mode we define nothing rashly, nor anxiously investigate, any more than in baptism we inquire how Christ's blood washes us; any more than in the Incarnation of Christ we ask how the human is united to the divine nature in One Person."

(1) *A Real Presence of Christ.*—"Nobis vobiscum de objecto convenit; de *modo*, lis omnis est. . . . Modum nescimus, praesentiam credimus. Praesentiam (inquam) credimus, nec minus quam vos, veram. De *modo* praesentiae nil temere definimus, addo, nec anxie inquirimus" (*Responsio*, p. 13; cp. Sermon VII. on *the Resurrection*, vol. ii. p. 302).

(2) *A real change in the Elements.*—"Transmutari elementa damus. Substantialem vero [transmutationem] quaerimus, nec reperimus usquam" (*Responsio*, p. 262). We allow "ut panis iam consecratus non sit panis quem natura formavit; sed, quem benedictio consecravit, et consecrando etiam immutavit" (*ibid.* p. 263).

(3) *Adoration.*—We allow "Christum in eucharistia vere praesentem, vere et adorandum" (*ibid.* p. 266).

(4) *Mode of the Presence.*—"Ea conjunctio inter sacramentum visibile, et rem sacramenti invisibilem, quae inter humanitatem et divinitatem Christi, ubi, nisi Eutychen sapere vultis, humanitas in divinitatem non transubstantiatur" (*ibid.* p. 265).

(5) *The Eucharistic Sacrifice.*—"The Eucharist ever was and by us is considered both as a sacrament and as a sacrifice. . . . The sacrifice of Christ's death did succeed to the sacrifices of the Old Testament. The sacrifice of Christ's death is available for present, absent, living, dead—yea, for them that are yet unborn. . . . We hold with S. Augustine . . . *quod huius sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur; in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur; post adventum Christi* (*leg. ascensum*) *per sacramentum memoriae celebratur*"[1] (*Answer to Perron's Reply*, p. 20). Consistently with this Andrewes defends the use of the term altar (*ibid*). Christ is "a sacrifice—so, to be slain; a propitiatory sacrifice—so, to be eaten" (*Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 296). See a clear and exact passage, *Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 300: "By the same rules that theirs [the Jewish Passover] was, by the same may ours be termed a sacrifice. In rigour of speech, neither of them; for to speak after the exact manner of divinity, there is but one only sacrifice, *veri nominis*, 'properly so called,' that is Christ's death. And that sacrifice but once actually performed at His death, but ever before represented in figure, from the beginning; and ever since repeated in memory to the world's end. That only absolute, all else relative to it, representative of it, operative by it. . . . Hence it is that what names theirs carried, ours do the like, and the Fathers make no scruple at it—no more need we, etc."

[1] Aug. *c. Faust.* xx. c. 21.

II. The Invocation of Saints.

On this point Andrewes agrees with Origen, that our real relations to the saints are among the "hidden things of God." That the saints intercede for us is probable; a pious and well-founded hope. That they *hear prayers* is not proved. We cannot invoke them, because we have no command warranting us to do so.[1] We cannot build on the apostrophes addressed to saints by the Fathers; "these are rhetorical outbursts, not theological definitions."[2] The catholics of old, having a good hope that the saints interceded for them, prayed to God that the prayers of saints might help them and be accepted on their behalf.[3] We may trust they will intercede for us without supplication from us; they ought not to be invoked or implored to intercede.[4]

III. The Doctrine of Absolution and Confession is fully and explicitly taught in a sermon on S. John xx. 23, preached before the court in 1600. See *Sermons*, vol. v. p. 82 foll. [The sermon made considerable stir at the time. See a letter from White to Sir R. Sydney, quoted in Bliss, *Minor Works, Life*, etc., p. lxii.].

IV. The following passages are important as bearing on Andrewes' view of Episcopacy:—

(1) From *Ep.* i. *ad Pet. Molin.*—"Factum hoc [Apostolic institution of episcopacy]: aut unica nobis litura obducendi ecclesiasticae historiae scriptores. Quando autem factum? μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνάληψιν, Eusebius. *Post passionem Domini statim*, Hieronymus. A quibus factum? *Ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos*, Tertullianus. Πρὸς

[1] "Id tantum audemus facere de quo praeceptum habemus" (*Responsio*, p. 47).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 55.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 60.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 59; cp. *Reply to Perron*, v. 20 (Bliss, p. 59). "Whether saints have particular knowledge of things below, and are set in particular as presidents over them—we meddle not with it."

τῶν ἀποστόλων, Epiphanius. πρὸς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ κυρίου, Eusebius; *ab apostolis ordinatum*, Hieronymus. *Constitutum ab apostolis*, Ambrosius. Numquis igitur neget Iacobum. Marcum, Linum, Clementem, *apostolico iure* fuisse episcopos? An est apostolicum factum aliquod *iure* non *apostolico? apostolico* autem, *i.e.* (ut ego interpretor) *divino.* Nec enim aliquid ab *Apostolis* factum, non dictante hoc iis *Spiritu Sancto* et *Divino*. . . . Nec ullam [puto] uspiam ecclesiae πολιτείαν magis ad mentem Scripturae, magisve ex more institutoque veteris ecclesiae quam quae viget hic apud nos."—(*Opusc. Posthuma*, pp. 186, 188).

(2) *From Ep.* ii.—"Nec tamen si nostra *divini iuris* sit, inde sequitur vel *quod sine ea salus non sit*, vel quod stare non possit ecclesia. Caecus sit qui non videat stantes sine ea ecclesias. Ferreus sit qui salutem eis neget. Nos non sumus illi ferrei; latum inter ista discrimen ponimus. Potest abesse aliquid quod divini iuris sit (in exteriore quidem regimine) ut tamen substet salus . . . Non est hoc damnare rem, melius illi aliquid anteponere. Non est hoc damnare vestram ecclesiam, ad formam aliam quae toti antiquitati magis placuit, i.e. ad nostram revocare" (*Opusc. Posthuma*, p. 191).

APPENDIX B.

BISHOP WREN'S INSCRIPTION FOR BISHOP ANDREWES' TOMB

LECTOR.

Si Christianus es, siste:
morae pretium erit,
non nescire te, qui vir hic situs sit
ejusdem tecum catholicae ecclesiae membrum,
sub eadem felicis resurrectionis spe,
eandem d. Iesu praestolans epiphaniam,
sacratissimus antistes, Lancelotus Andrewes,
Londini oriundus, educatus Cantabrigiae
aulae Pembroch. alumnorum, sociorum, praefectorum
unus, et nemini secundus.
Linguarum, artium, scientiarum,
humanorum, divinorum omnium
infinitus thesaurus, stupendum oraculum;
orthodoxae Christi ecclesiae
dictis, scriptis, precibus, exemplo,
incomparabile propugnaculum:
reginae Elizabethae a sacris,
d. Pauli London. residentiarius,
d. Petri Westmonast. decanus,
episcopus Cicestrensis, Eliensis, Wintoniensis,
regique Iacobo tum ab eleemosynis,
tum ab utriusque regni consiliis,
decanus denique sacelli regii.
Idem ex
indefessa opera in studiis,
summa sapientia in rebus,
assidua pietate in Deum,
profusa largitate in egenos,
rara amoenitate in suos,
spectata probitate in omnes,
aeternum admirandus:
annorum pariter, et publicae famae satur,
sed bonorum passim omnium cum luctu denatus,
coelebs hinc migravit ad aureolam coelestem
anno
regis Caroli ii°. aetatis suae lxxi°.
Christi mdcxxvi°.
Tantum est, lector, quod te moerentes posteri
nunc volebant, atque ut ex voto tuo valeas, dicto

SIT DEO GLORIA.

This epitaph was apparently inscribed on the back of the canopy which formed part of the original tomb before its reconstruction in 1830. The present inscription, derived from Laud's diary, is as follows:—

(*At the head*)

SEP^{ris} 21mo
DIE LUNÆ [1]
HORA MATUTINA FERE QUARTA
LANCELOTUS ANDREWES
EPISCOPUS WINTONENSIS
MERITISSIMUM [2] LUMEN ORBIS
CHRISTIANI MORTUUS EST
(EPHEMERIS LAUDIANA)
ANNO DOMINI 1626
ÆTATIS SUÆ 71°

(*At the foot*)

MONUMENTUM QUOAD HOC RESTITUTUM
ANNO 1703
ITERUM RESTITUTUM
ANNO 1810.

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[1] The date is given incorrectly in the MS. of the diary.
[2] Probably the true reading is *meritissimus*.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF BISHOP ANDREWES' WORKS, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO DATE OF PUBLICATION, SEPARATELY OR IN COLLECTED FORM.

I. Tortura Torti (1609).

II. Responsio ad Apologiam Card. Bellarmini (1610).

III. Articles of Visitation for the Diocese of Winchester in 1619 and 1625 (1625).

IV. Opera Posthuma (1629).

This volume contains the following Sermons and Dissertations:—

(1) Concio ad clerum pro gradu doctoris.
(2) Ad clerum in synodo provinciali.
(3) Concio coram rege habita V° Aug. 1606.
(4) Concio habita in discessu Palatini XIII° April 1613.
(5) Theologica determinatio de Iure iurando.
(6) Determinatio de Usuris.
(7) Determinatio de Decimis.
(8) Responsiones ad P. Molinaei epistolas tres una cum Molinaei epistolis.

V. Two Answers to Cardinal Perron; together with a Speech in the Star Chamber against Mr. Traske, and another Concerning Vows in the Countess of Shrewsbury's Case (1629).

VI. Ninety-six Sermons (1629).

These were first published in collected form in 1629.

VII. A Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine and the Moral Law expounded.

First published in a collected form, 1642; enlarged in a later edition, 1650.

VIII. A Manual of Directions for the Sick, edited by Richard Drake (1648).

IX. A Manual of Private Devotions, translated and edited by Richard Drake (1648).

X. Form for the Consecration of a Church or Chapel (1659).

XI. Judgment of the Lambeth Articles, and Censure of the Censure on Barrett.

This work appeared first in the Appendix to Elis's *Articulorum* xxxix. *Eccl. Angl. defensio*, 1660.

XII. Notes on the Book of Common Prayer.

Printed in Nicholls' *Commentary on the Book of Common Prayer*, 1710.

XIII. A Discourse against Second Marriage after Divorce.

First printed by Bliss from a MS. in the British Museum, 1854.

XIV. Form for Consecrating Church Plate, and Form of Induction.

First printed by Bliss, 1854.

The following works cannot be appropriately classed as authentic works of Bishop Andrewes:—

I. A Summarie View of the Government both of the Old and New Testament, whereby the Episcopall Government of Christ's Church is vindicated, out of the rude draughts of L. Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester (Oxford, 1641).

Milton, in *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelates*, book i. chap. v., remarks that "they be rude draughts indeed, insomuch that it is a marvel to think what his friends meant, to let come abroad such shallow reasonings with the name of a man so much bruited for learning."

II. A learned Discourse of Ceremonies retained and used in Christian Churches.

Published with a Preface by Edw. Leigh in 1653, but of questionable authenticity.

III. Ἀποσπασμάτια Sacra; or, A Collection of Posthumous and Orphan Lectures, delivered at S. Paul's and S. Giles' his Church (1657).

This compilation appears to be based on some of Andrewes' lectures and sermons in London, but "there does not appear to be sufficient evidence to justify one in ascribing these sermons, at least in their present form, to Bishop Andrewes" (Bliss, *Minor Works, Life*, etc., p. lxxvii.).

APPENDIX D

LITERARY HISTORY OF THE *DEVOTIONS*

As may have been gathered from the text, the *Preces Privatae* of bishop Andrewes have had a remarkable history, notably in the fact that all except the very last of the numerous editions of these prayers, which have exercised such an influence upon Anglican devotion, have been printed not from the original manuscript, which early disappeared from sight and has only recently been recovered, but from a copy or copies of it. The history has been very clearly told by the Rev. P. G. Medd in his edition of 1892, but for the sake of those readers who may not have his book in their hands it shall be briefly retold.

As we now know, "a little before his death" bishop Andrewes gave his manuscript book of private prayers to his friend William Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells. And so, after Laud's execution in 1644, it may have passed with his other books and papers into the hands of his executor, Dr. Richard Baylie, president of S. John's College, Oxon. There were others, however, who had been allowed by our bishop to see this volume, as well as other private devotional papers. Thus we find that his secretary, Samuel Wright, had made a beautifully-written copy of the entire book, which became of great importance, and still exists in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge. His amanuensis, Henry Isaacson, seems to have made great use of the bishop's notes in drawing up a manual of devotion for his "own private use." Further, one of his chaplains, David Stokes, and Richard Drake, elected scholar of Pembroke Hall in 1625, certainly saw the book and some of his papers, though whether before or after his death we do not know.

Laud, who with bishop Buckeridge acted by royal command as Andrewes' literary executor, did not publish this book of prayers, either because the times were inexpedient; or, as Mr. Drake seemed to think, because of the language, "his Greek had been but a barbarian unto them whose benefit was chiefly intended in all the publications of his works"; or most probably through fear of violating the sanctity of the bishop's inner life. When Andrewes, however, was once dead, the box of his body, as it were, being broken, the odour of his devotion could no longer be restrained from filling the Church. Within five years, in 1630, Henry Isaacson, "considering that *bonum quo communius eo melius*," published his private manual under the title of *Institutiones Piae*.[1] Further, some copies of English translations of the bishop's prayers came into the hands of Humphrey Moseley, a bookseller, who felt constrained to publish them in 1647,[2] notwithstanding the unsuitability of the times, because "there were divers manuscripts dispersed abroad, and the Church might be deprived of this genuine edition." He did not know who translated them, but "some of his [Andrewes'] learned friends informed me that they found them written with his owne hand, from whence they had the happiness to transcribe them" (preface).

The fragmentary character of these publications was the incentive to a new edition in 1648 by Richard Drake. Mr. Drake, scholar and then fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, had become rector of Redwinter, and in 1662 was appointed chancellor of Sarum, which post he held till his death in 1681. Owing perhaps to his intimate friendship with Samuel Wright, he had seen "the original manuscript, happy in the glorious deformity thereof, being slubbered with his pious hands and watered with his penitential

[1] A useful reprint was edited by Rev. W. H. Hale in 1839 (Messrs. Rivington).

[2] In a tiny volume, entitled *The Private Devotions of the Right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester.*

tears"; and after Andrewes' death, Mr. Wright, now registrar of the bishop of Ely, had at some time given him his own above-mentioned copy,[1] to be kept as a "precious treasure and sacred relic." In 1648, then, as "the honour of this renowned Bishop [seemed] eclipsed, by obtruding on the world some broken parcels, miserably defaced by a careless press, under the glorious name of Bishop Andrews,"[2] Drake published an English translation of Wright's copy.[3]

Under the Commonwealth in 1654, Henry Isaacson died, and Henry Seile, in publishing a fourth edition of the *Institutiones Piae*, claims that "the true Father and primary Author of these devotions was the glory of this Church, the great and eminent ANDREWS; a person of such learning, charmingness, and sanctity, that in aftertimes there will be some to make it their wish, O that they had lived in those days when they might have seen

> *Doctor Andrews in the Schools,*
> *Bishop Andrews in the Pulpit,*
> *Saint Andrews in the Closet.*"[4]

In 1668, David Stokes, now "D.D. and Fellow of *Eaton Colledge*," wrote a manual called *Verus Christianus*, and in an appendix printed a collection of prayers and meditations of "the most Learned and Reverend Lord Bishop Andrews, that *singular Linguist*, *Incomparable Preacher* and ὁ θεολόγος, in his time ὁ πάνυ," having "the more reason with all thankfulness to make Honorable mention of Him, because he was pleased to make himself the cheifest Guide, and encourager

[1] As is testified by this note on the second page of the manuscript: *Amicissimus meus Samuel Wright Lancelotο Wintoniensi Epo olim à chartis, nunc autem Matthaeo Eliensi à Registris, pretiosum hoc κειμήλιον suâ manu accuratè descriptum dono dedit mihi*

Ricardo Drake

[2] Bliss, *Minor Works*, pp. 231, 233.

[3] It was published, however, by the same publisher, Humphrey Moseley.

[4] Hale, p. xvi. As we have seen, the claim was an exaggerated one.

of my studies, and put me into the happiest Method, and order of them." This collection of Greek and Latin pieces, the origin of the later parts of our ordinary editions, seems to have been taken in part from various copies, but in part also from the bishop's "own papers" and from his "Greek papers"; for instance, the caution to preachers out of Fulgentius was "found written with his own hand (in his Hebrew Bible, in a little *quarto sine punctis*)."

It was only in 1675, that is, about fifty years after Andrewes' death, that there appeared at last an edition of his prayers—complete and in the original language.[1] The University of Oxford had the honour of printing it, the editor being Dr. John Lamphire, and the Vice-Chancellor giving his *imprimatur*. The edition consisted of a careful reprint, with a Latin translation, of Samuel Wright's ms. copy, lent by Dr. Drake, together with some Latin pieces also communicated by him, and the collection in Dr. Stokes' appendix. It has formed the basis of all subsequent editions down to that of 1892, of which we need only mention the English translation by Newman, which appeared as the 88th *Tract for the Times*, Lady Day 1890, and the excellent reprint of 1853 by Dr. John Barrow in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*. This last contained a third part printed for the first time, and taken from a ms. book in the British Museum (ms. harl. 6614), which claims — but no doubt wrongly—to be "*ex propria manu Lancelloti Andrews Wintoniensis olim episcopi.*" Mr. Bliss thought it a fair copy

[1] "Rev. Patris LANC. ANDREWS Episc. *Winton.* PRECES *Privatae* Graecè et Latinè. *Oxonii,* e Theatro Sheldoniano, MDCLXXV." Second edition, 1829 : third, 1848. The reader's knowledge that Andrewes' *Devotions* were in Greek has been assumed. "He penned them in Greeke (says Humphrey Moseley), and in that language presented them to his God ; the reason, it is not for me to determine, whether it were for that the clearest evidences of our salvation are delivered to us in that tongue, or whether amongst those fifteene he was master of, he chose this language as the most copious to expresse the fulnesse of his soule." There is a good deal of Hebrew intermixed with the Greek.

written for the bishop but left incomplete through his death (*Minor Works*, p. lxxv.).

The most interesting discovery, however, has been reserved for our generation. A few years ago, the Rev. R. G. Livingstone, fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, purchased at a sale a small book of 188 pages, bound in white vellum and fastened with green silk ribbons, which proved to be the original manuscript of bishop Andrewes himself. Not only does it bear the traces of the 'slubbering of pious hands and watering of penitential tears,' but it contains this conclusive inscription in Laud's handwriting, as to the authenticity of which there seems to be no question:

My reverend Friend
Bishop Andrews
gave me this Booke
a little before his death
W: Bath
et Welles.

The manuscript itself was printed by the S.P.C.K. in 1892, and had for its careful and reverent editor the Rev. Canon Medd.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
ANNOUNCEMENTS,	2
GENERAL LITERATURE,	3-27
METHUEN'S STANDARD LIBRARY,	27
BYZANTINE TEXTS,	27
LITTLE LIBRARY,	28
LITTLE GUIDES,	28
LITTLE BIOGRAPHIES,	28
LITTLE BLUE BOOKS	29
LIBRARY OF DEVOTION,	29
OXFORD COMMENTARIES,	29
HANDBOOKS OF THEOLOGY,	29
CHURCHMAN'S LIBRARY,	29
CHURCHMAN'S BIBLE,	30
LEADERS OF RELIGION,	30
SOCIAL QUESTIONS OF TO-DAY,	30
UNIVERSITY EXTENSION SERIES,	31
COMMERCIAL SERIES,	31
CLASSICAL TRANSLATIONS,	31
SCHOOL EXAMINATION SERIES,	32
METHUEN'S JUNIOR SCHOOL-BOOKS,	32
TEXTBOOKS OF TECHNOLOGY,	32
FICTION,	32-38
THE FLEUR DE LIS NOVELS,	39
BOOKS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS,	40
THE NOVELIST,	40
METHUEN'S SIXPENNY LIBRARY,	40

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